

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)**

**NEW LEFT**

**CHICAGO DIVISION**

**100-449698-9**



## **NOTICE**

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**FBI**

**Date:** 1/22/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_ (Priority)

**TO : DIRECTOR, FBI**

**FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)**

COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT  
WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE-  
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

ReBuairtel 1/11/71.

[REDACTED] attended the Worker Student Alliance (WSA) National Convention, Chicago, 12/27-30/70. He advised as follows:

Progressive Labor Party (PLP) members held key positions at the convention, such as chairman. In this manner PLP controlled who was allowed on the floor to debate issues. When a view contrary to the PLP line was expressed, PLP members would shout the speaker down. The anti-PLP faction was a disorganized small group which was unable to effectively project its ideology over the harassment of PLP members.

The source had no information re funds other than that a five dollar fee was charged for admission to the convention and numerous collections were made by various individuals and groups. The source could provide no details re the disbursement of funds.

Funds for travel and lodging were not applicable for Chicago attendees as the convention was held in Chicago and attendees were able to reside at their usual abode.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Chicago  
1-100-50005

RHW: meb  
(4)

DECLASSIFIED BY  
ON 2/28/77

REC-52

EX-111

12 JAN 25 1971

**NEW LEFT**

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *WALL*  
DATE *3-31-77*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-45316

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The convention attendees expressed disappointment with press coverage and turnout for leafleting activities. Several delegates complained that the convention activities were poorly organized and managed. This would appear to leave PLP vulnerable to an attack from dissident groups re their inability to provide leadership of the masses. They were only effective in controlling their own group, which resulted in too much time spent arguing among themselves instead of establishing policy and deciding issues, leaving WSA poorly prepared to effectively function as a national organization during the ensuing year.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 12/30/70

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

Remylet 9/30/70.

## Potential Counterintelligence Action

As the Bureau has been advised under the substantive caption, a factional split is developing in the Worker Student Alliance (WSA) group which calls itself SDS. This is expected to come to a head during the National Convention being held in Chicago at the present time. As this split develops it may well provide an excellent opportunity for counterintelligence action to further fragment the campus movement. Chicago is alert to this possibility and will make appropriate recommendations to exploit this split.

It has been reported that WSA plans to move its national office to Chicago. To date no information has been developed to indicate that they have secured office space. Should they attempt to secure space, recommendations will be made, such as advising reliable sources at Illinois Bell Telephone Company of the poor credit rating of this group, anonymous mailings to property owners in the area, etc., in an effort to disrupt their efforts to establish a headquarters in Chicago.

## Pending Counterintelligence Activity

Chicago is continuing a vigorous fugitive investigation to locate members of the Weatherman group. Numerous contacts are being made among all elements in the Chicago area. By emphasis on the dangerousness of these extremists, many people contacted have advised that they have none for the extremist elements, and have pledged cooperation with the FBI. The pressure of the fugitive investigation has made it difficult for the extremists to organize any major disruptive actions.

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
RHW:mab  
(3)

REC 16

12 DEC 31 1970

61 JAN 11 1971

INT. SEC.

CG 100-45316

Tangible Results

The most noticeable results of the counterintelligence activities of the Chicago Office have been the apprehension and incarceration of [REDACTED] As a result of the pressure applied by the Bureau, [REDACTED] surrendered to local authorities and is restricted in her activities by terms of bond. These three Weatherman extremists have been neutralized.

FBI

Date: 12/23/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-184369)****FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (105-27305)****SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU)  
IS-RU****OO: SAN FRANCISCO**

BECAUSE THE SOURCE IS AFFILIATED WITH A HIGHLY SENSITIVE BUREAU RUN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION, INFORMATION ATTRIBUTED TO HIM MUST BE CAREFULLY PARAPHRASED.

On 12/22/70, [REDACTED] advised that on Friday, 12/18/70, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] arrived in Chicago via plane. They stayed mostly at the source's apartment, [REDACTED] after which they departed for Detroit. They returned late Saturday or early Sunday where [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] attended a Chicago Revolutionary Union (RU) meeting held at 401 South East Maywood, Illinois, the home of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

In addition to the [REDACTED] the following attended: *Chicago*

- ④ - Bureau (RM)
  - ④ - 100-449698) (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)
  - (1 - 100-442715) (AHC)
- 7 - San Francisco (100-61281) (RU) (RM) **NOT RECORDED**
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-56802) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 105-22479) (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE & SP. OP.)
- 1 - Detroit (100-35108) (RU) (RM)
- 11 - Chicago
  - (1 - 100-41353) (AHC) (1 - 100-48622) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-47535) [REDACTED] (1-100-50024) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-49891) [REDACTED] (1 - 100-50161) (MAYWOOD COLLECTIVE)
  - (1 - 100-50559) (JIM (END)) (1-100-35770) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - A) [REDACTED] (1-100-49815) (WAUKEGAN COLLECTIVE)

JWM: pag  
(23)

ORIGINAL FILE

56 JAN 7 1971

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]  
The meeting lasted four hours.

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were in Chicago essentially to relate their side of the recent RU split. As will be recalled, [REDACTED] originator of the RU split, traveled to Chicago, Detroit and New Orleans the previous week to explain his position to RU Collectives in those cities.

[REDACTED] states that it is obvious that a real RU split has occurred. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] indicated that [REDACTED] forces in the San Francisco Bay Area might number 100 which they claim is a minority of RU. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] accused [REDACTED] of plotting to quit the RU for the last six months. They accuse [REDACTED] of "Weathermanism", of acting childishly by his toying with guns and of hurling epithets at them. In the source's opinion, the RU split is basically and essentially over personal animosity, however, it is shrouded in a revolutionary facade based on a difference in line. In this regard, [REDACTED] said that [REDACTED] had accused him of being a revisionist and male chauvinist who refused to practice democratic centralism. At the RU meeting at [REDACTED] house, the source noted, there was a good deal of [REDACTED] type of personal comments made by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

As previously stated, there is a difference over line. According to [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], they disagree with [REDACTED] on the following points:

- a. Armed Struggle - [REDACTED] is accused of "Weathermanism." He is too prone to looking to the gun without being guided by political tactics and strategy.
- b. Democratic Centralism - [REDACTED] accused [REDACTED] of being irresponsible in not sending RU internal documents to the various collectives where they could be discussed and suggestions made. [REDACTED] insists that these documents were sent, although they may not have been received because of mail covers, pigs, etc. [REDACTED]

seems to believe that it is not necessary to "bug" the various collectives with all the documents, position papers and internal discussions of the Political Committee.

- c. Multi-National Question - [redacted] wants to build a national party containing all races. [redacted] according to [redacted] wants to build an all-white organization to lend support to the Black Panther Party, which [redacted] believes is the vanguard revolutionary party today.
- d. Women's Liberation - [redacted] advised there is little difference in line on this question. However, when [redacted] visited with PC members, [redacted] and his supporters accused her of a narrow view looking at women's lib as a single issue rather than in larger revolutionary terms. She called [redacted] a male chauvinist. She went back to New Orleans in a huff and when invited back, told the PC members if they wanted to talk, they should come to see her.
- e. National Question - [redacted] claims to be following the line laid down in Red Papers. He criticizes [redacted] for being a black sycophant who is unable to view the black struggle as part of the larger question of oppression of workers.

[redacted] and [redacted] made no allusions to Eastern collectives. They said nothing about [redacted]. They were aware of [redacted] visit to various collectives to drum up support for his views.

[redacted] believes that there will be a good deal of discussion in the Chicago RU regarding the differing lines. He predicted that in about a month's time the victor, if such there will be, in the RU split will become known. According to the source, the issues are blurred and because of the personal antipathy of the contending factions clear cut choosing of sides is made more difficult.

FBI

Date: 12/3/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-184369)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (105-27305)

REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - RU

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

On 12/2/70

Maywood, Illinois

\_\_\_\_\_ this is the address of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Attendees were the \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ It is believed he is identical to \_\_\_\_\_

- (5 - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - 100-449698 (Cointelpro-New Left)  
 1 - 100-442715 (AHC)  
 1 - 157-18393 (BPP-RPCC)  
 3 - San Francisco (100-61281) (RM)  
 1 - 100- (Wuakegan Collective)  
 1 - 105-22479 (Counterintelligence and Special Operations)  
 1 - Detroit (100-35108) (RM)  
 12- Chicago  
 1 - 100-41353 (AHC)  
 1 - 100-48622  
 1 - 100-47535  
 1 - 100-50024  
 1 - 100-49891  
 1 - 100-50161 (RU-Maywood Collective)  
 1 - 100-50559 (JIM (INU))  
 1 - 100-35770  
 1 - A)  
 1 - 157-5664 (RPCC)

JWM:mfs  
(21)

RECORDED  
 DEC 15 1970

Approved: DEC 18 1970  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ORIGINAL FILED IN

[REDACTED] (Bufile 100-435632) [REDACTED] 100-35770). He was former CPUSA member, active in RYM II of SDS and has travelled to Cuba. [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] was recruited by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]. An RU meeting was called by a New York City delegate and it was held in a Washington park. According to [REDACTED] this meeting was negative and chaotic. It was hampered by an attempt to make it both an open and closed meeting. Internal criticism was supposed to occur, however, because some people in attendance were not even RU members this plan was abandoned. [REDACTED] also complained that too many of the RU delegates were student types who had a blatantly sycophantic attitude toward the BPP. No Political Committee members attended the Convention.

Parenthetically, [REDACTED] mentioned that Detroit RU members are themselves making Mao Tsetung shirts and selling them. Chairman MAO is depicted on the front and the slogan "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" appears on the back. The

CG 105-27305

source owns one.

[REDACTED] characterized [REDACTED] as "up tight" about the recent attempt to interview him and other RU members by FBI agents. [REDACTED] was not totally surprised by the interview as Bay Area RU had warned Collectives to expect such harassment. Nevertheless, the interview made [REDACTED] edgy. He claims that all his friends, political as well as non-political types, will now be subjected to interview and this bothers him. [REDACTED] intends to tighten his security as a result of the interview. [REDACTED] thought it reasonable that [REDACTED] was interviewed by the FBI because of his friendship with [REDACTED] and because his presence at the RU meeting in San Francisco on October 9-11, 1970 was noticeable because the [REDACTED]

FBI

Date: 11/24/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-184369)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (105-27305)

REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - RU

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re San Francisco airtel dated 10/22/70; Bureau airtel dated 10/28/70 and Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 10/28/70.

In line with the counter-intelligence technique outlined in San Francisco airtel [redacted], Chicago RU leader, and [redacted] were interviewed. Chicago interviews were coordinated so that essentially the same questions were asked of [redacted] and the source. [redacted] was aware beforehand of the interview and realized it was being carried out to protect his security. In all other senses, the interview of the source was realistic.

[redacted] was interviewed by [redacted] and [redacted] at 1 P.M. Chicago time, at his apartment at [redacted]. SA [redacted] had prominently displayed a copy of "The Red Papers." The source was questioned regarding his knowledge of RU, [redacted] and RU's stated position of armed struggle as a means to overthrow the American government. The source, as instructed, refused to answer the questions put to him and suggested that the interviewing agents leave. They did.

On the same date and at the same time [redacted] was interviewed at his residence in [redacted] Chicago, Illinois by SAS [redacted] and [redacted]. The SAS were let into [redacted] apt.

NOT RECORDED

50

DEC 8 1970

- ④ - Bureau (RM)
  - ✓ - 100-449698 (Counterpro-New Left)
  - 1 - 100-449698 (AHC)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-612811) (RM)
  - 1 - 105-27305 (Counterintelligence and Special Operations)
- 4 - Chicago
  - 1 - 100-47535 [redacted]
  - 1 - 100-41353 (AHC)
  - 1 - A)134-2818 (CG 7262-S)

(11)

56 DEC 10 1970 Sent In Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ORIGINAL FILED IN

[REDACTED] (CG file 100-50056). Also present was [REDACTED] (CG file 100-49591). He was asked the same question as was [REDACTED]. To each question [REDACTED] responded, "I have nothing to say." The interviewing agents stated that [REDACTED] seemed somewhat surprised at the mention of [REDACTED] name. At one point in the conversation [REDACTED] asked the interviewing agents whether he was under arrest. The agents replied negatively. SA [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] hair is longer than pictured and he is wearing wire rimmed spectacles.

It is noted that in January, 1970 [REDACTED] was interviewed by Special Agents [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] in connection with the destruction of draft records of Local Board #60, Racine, Wisconsin (CG file 52-5731). [REDACTED] was uncooperative at that time.

Chicago did not interview [REDACTED] (CG file 100-49821) as requested in referenced San Francisco airtel. This was not done for the following reasons: 1) [REDACTED] has just recently been accepted into RU. 2) He is less important than [REDACTED] or [REDACTED] both of whom know and have been visited by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. 3) Excepting San Francisco no office was requested to interview more than two RU subjects; for Chicago to have done so may have pointed to "a stoolie" in Chicago's RU Collective.

Through [REDACTED] Chicago will continue to follow [REDACTED] response to interview.

FBI

Date: 10/27/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)  
SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIETY (SDS)  
WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE (WSA)  
IS - SDS  
BUFILE 100-439648

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
BUFILE 100-449698

Re Bureau airtel 10/23/70, and Chicago teletypes  
10/22/70 and 10/26/70.

Chicago sources [redacted] and [redacted]  
[redacted] - underdevelopment, [redacted]. Both sources have been  
alerted to the possibility of factional bickering between  
Progressive Labor Party oriented groups and student oriented  
groups. They have been instructed to report in detail any  
factional disputes.

Both sources [redacted] and [redacted]  
will maintain this stance during and dispute with the  
student groups. [redacted] has been encouraged to press for  
purging the student group should a dispute arise.

- 1 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Boston (100-35472) (RM)  
1 - 100-38580  
2 - Detroit (100-30057) (RM)  
1 - 100-35108  
2 - San Francisco (100-52152) (RM)  
1 - 100-60968  
2 - Chicago  
RHW:rrs  
(12)

100-449698-9-  
NOT RECORDED  
98 NOV 5 1970

Classified by 22617  
Exempt from GDS Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per [redacted]

DECLASSIFIED  
ON 2/28/71

66 NOV 9 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-45316

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

No instructions have been given [REDACTED] in this regard, as he is new to the group, and in the initial stages of development as an informant.

By referenced Chicago teletypes, permission was requested to send above informants to meeting in Detroit.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 10/7/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFTRe Cincinnati airtel dated 9/24/70, and  
Bureau airtel dated 10/1/70.

Referenced Bureau airtel instructed Chicago to conduct a survey to determine the feasibility of identifying recent subscribers to post office boxes to possibly locate Weatherman fugitives.

On 10/6/70, [REDACTED] Postal Inspector, Chicago, advised that records of box rentals are maintained by each individual station, in a manner similar to that described in Cincinnati airtel. There are approximately 60 stations in Chicago, not including the suburbs.

He further advised that the LaSalle Street Branch has 4000 boxes and other stations throughout the city have approximately 6000 boxes.

Each application would have to be reviewed to determine the date it was assigned.

To conduct the investigation suggested by Cincinnati would require an estimated two months for one agent to review necessary applications, in the city of Chicago alone, and a great deal of clerical time to conduct indices and record checks to determine bona fides of subscribers.

② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Cincinnati (100-17601) (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
RHW/CLH  
(4)

REC-32

OCT 9 1970

Approved

55 OCT 15 1970

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-45316

It is further noted that several well-known radicals and individuals known to be sympathetic with the fugitives have previously established addresses which could be used for a communications network by the fugitives, and would not be detected by this type of survey.

[REDACTED] advised that a request to review all applications should come from the Post Office Department, Washington, D. C.

*SPH*  
DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) (100-449698)

September 25, 1970

SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (100-45316)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
NEW LEFT  
SM

ReBuairtel to Baltimore, dated 9/9/70.

Enclosures with referenced airtel have been handled per instructions set forth in referenced letter.

A record has been made of the names of recipients for possible future counterintelligence follow-up material.

The Bureau and San Francisco will be advised of any positive results obtained as a result of this action.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-601) (Info.) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago

JPM/hmm  
(7)

6 OCT 7 1970

100-449698-9-  
NOT RECORDED

192 SEP 29 1970

100-449698-201  
ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 7/1/70

FROM : [REDACTED] RC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Remylet, 3/31/70.

## Potential Counterintelligence Action

Major thrust of counterintelligence activity in the Chicago Division continues to be directed against the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (Weatherman). As the Bureau is aware, this group has gone underground. Chicago has obtained Federal warrants for numerous Weatherman who have failed to appear in local court cases. Chicago is continuing to follow local prosecution of Weatherman and is alert to the possibility of further UFAP process. Some of the Weathermen who have been convicted on local charges had been sentenced under the "Work Release Program" wherein they work during the day and are confined at night. During the course of investigation Chicago has discovered that some of these individuals are violating the terms of their sentence. This information is being brought to the attention of appropriate local officials and it is anticipated that court action will be taken against some of these individuals.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

EX-117

REC 27

YRHW/sjf  
(3)

7 51

66 JUL 13 1970

SECTION

CG 100-45316

Tangible Results

On April 2, 1970, Federal Grand Jury, Chicago, returned indictments against twelve Weatherman leaders. One of these, [REDACTED] was arrested by Bureau Agents in New York City and as a result of the conditions of her release on bond she has been effectively neutralized as far as her participation in the terrorist activities of Weatherman. The remaining fugitives are being sought and a vigorous fugitive investigation is in progress. This investigation has served to alert the public to the violent nature of Weathermen.

Departmental Attorney GUY L. GOODWIN is currently presenting additional information to the Federal Grand Jury in Detroit and it is anticipated that further indictments will be returned. Chicago has been working closely with GOODWIN on this matter to further neutralize Weatherman.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 3/31/70

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

Remylet 12/31/69.

## Potential Counterintelligence Action

The major thrust of the counterintelligence activity of the Chicago Division is being directed against the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (Weatherman). As previously applied tactics of embarrassment, degradations and creation of factional splits do not seem to be pertinent to the life style and organization of this group, the primary tactic being applied is the development of prosecutable federal or local cases against the members of this group. Many of the leaders have numerous appearances scheduled for local court, and some have travel restrictions as a result of local bonds. Close liaison has been established with the State's Attorney's Office and the local police to obtain UFAP process on any who fail to appear, or to have bond revoked if travel restrictions are violated.

## Tangible Results

Federal indictments of 11 or 12 Weathermen leaders is anticipated by April 2, 1970, for violation of AntiRiot Laws. This group includes 9 key activists. The arrest of these persons will effectively remove national leadership of Weatherman.

Six female members of Weatherman are presently Bureau fugitives as a result of their failure to appear in local court on March 16, 1970.

On March 30, 1970, 10 Weatherman members failed to appear, and UFAP process is being sought on five of those not pending indictment by Federal Grand Jury or present UFAP subjects.

(2) - Bureau (RM)

1 - Chicago

RHW:meh

(3)

16 APR 3 1970

INT. SEC.



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 100-45316

Chicago is vigorously pursuing fugitive investigation of these individuals, as it is believed that this is the most effective method to disrupt the activities of this dangerous group.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 12/31/69

SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Chicago letter to the Bureau dated 10/13/69.

## 1. Potential Counterintelligence Activity

By teletype dated November 12, 1969, Detroit advised that one [REDACTED] an attorney who reportedly involved himself in the early stages of the trial of the "Chicago Eight" (the Antiriot Law Trial in the case of DAVE DELLINGER, et al) indicated that RENNIE DAVIS was an employee of the CIA, and that Liberation News Service has developed information to support this charge. This has potential for effective counterintelligence action against DAVIS, however as DAVIS is presently a defendant in the above mentioned trial, no action is being recommended at this time, as embarrassment to the Bureau could result. This matter will be considered further upon completion of the current trial.

[REDACTED] Chicago is alert to any method of exploiting this financial weakness, and will submit appropriate recommendations as situations favorable to counterintelligence action develop.

[REDACTED] Chicago is alert to the potential of this situation and will submit recommendations as appropriate.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RHW:ajf  
(3)

REC-23

100-111101-1-47

JAN 1 1970



JAN 9

1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

The WSA faction of SDS is attempting to expand its base of power in the Chicago Area, and has indicated a desire to join with the workers in labor disputes. Chicago presently is following this activity through sources, and will submit appropriate recommendations.

**2. Pending Counterintelligence Action**

There has been no change in the pending counterintelligence activity.

**3. Tangible Results**

During the SDS National Action numerous violations of local laws were committed by the Weatherman Faction of SDS. Through continuing liaison with the Chicago Police Department, the Chicago Office was able to identify many of the perpetrators of these criminal acts, allowing the local Police Department to effect arrest of those involved. Additionally through sources of the Chicago Office the location was determined of numerous Weathermen, who were fugitives from the local Police Department. This information was supplied to police and resulted in apprehension of these individuals.

Through contact with the U.S. Attorney's Office, Chicago, it was learned that the State's Attorney, Chicago was interested in any violation of travel restrictions of any leaders. A public source document concerning the travel to MARK RUDD outside of Illinois, was received by Chicago. This information was provided to the State's Attorney, and resulted in the increase of RUDD's bond by \$5,000. On December 31, 1969 it was learned that local authorities had observed RUDD in Flint, Michigan at the SDS National Council meeting on December 30, 1969. This information was provided to the State's Attorney, who advised that he would seek bond revocation and possible contempt of court citation against RUDD.

F B I

Date: 8/27/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel 8/21/69 and WFO airtel 8/22/69.

ReBuairtel requested recommendations for counter-intelligence action concerning the Black United Front (BUF) demand of \$25,000 from the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC).

Chicago concurs with recommendations in reWFOairtel. Chicago sources familiar with some phases of New Left activity have provided no information concerning NMC's feelings towards these demands. These sources have been alerted for any information relating to this situation.

It is noted that NMC has not been active in Chicago since shortly after the Democratic National Convention in 8/68. The main thrust of protest activity in Chicago has been centered around the trial of the eight persons indicted for their activities during the Democratic National Convention which is scheduled to start in late 9/69, and the SDS "National Action" scheduled for Chicago on 10/11/69.

Canvass of Chicago sources has not disclosed any similar demands by any black groups in the Chicago area. Chicago is alert to any such demands during forthcoming protest activity. The use of informants to encourage black groups in the Chicago area to make similar demands against SDS is being considered and appropriate recommendations will be submitted.

Chicago remains alert for any possible counterintelligence activities to disrupt the NMC demonstration in Washington, D.C. No counterintelligence activity will be taken without prior Bureau authority.

② - Bureau (RM) <sup>100-449698-9-18</sup>

1 - Chicago

RHW:meh

REC-5

AUG 29 1969

51 SEP 22 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

INT. SEC.

F B I

Date: 9/4/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449638)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

Re Detroit airtel to Director 8/29/69.

Reairtel sets out a proposed anonymous letter to be sent to leaders of Students for a Democratic Society and Black Panther Party.

The letter is well prepared and Chicago agrees with Detroit that it could cause friction between SDS and BPP.

In the opinion of Chicago, however, to be believable as coming from a BPP member, it should contain the obscenity and vulgarity common to BPP speech and writing. Also the BPP habitually refers to police as pigs. With some minor changes this letter could be an excellent counterintelligence vehicle.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - Detroit (100-35108) (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago
- RHW:mab  
(7)

EX-111  
REC 46

22 SEP 9 1969

INT. SEC.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

53 SEP 22 1969

Special Agent

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449898)

FROM : CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

DATE: 6/30/69

Re Chicago letter to the Bureau 3/31/69.

## 1. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

The recent split between pro-national office and pro-Progressive Labor factions of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) present possible opportunities for counterintelligence action with the objective of widening the split and preventing possible reunification of SDS. There also appears to be a difference of opinion among the members of the national office faction. MIKE KLONSKY, former National Secretary, and his supporters including members of the Revolutionary Union, appear to differ with the present national officers who are followers of BERNARDINE DOHRN, former National Interorganizational Secretary. Chicago sources have been alerted to this possible rift and once policies have been established sufficiently to permit effective counterintelligence action, appropriate recommendations will be submitted.

As there is a new slate of national officers, a careful analysis will be made to determine areas in which they may be vulnerable to counterintelligence activities. Recommendations to attack weaknesses will be made when appropriate.

## 2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY

A recommendation was made to attempt to weaken or destroy an alliance between SDS and the Black Panther Party (BPP). The Bureau approved use of informants to attempt to point out that SDS was exploiting the BPP, intending to use

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RHW/rmb  
(3)

Classified by 2222  
Exempt from GDS, Category  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

them as a black army for a white revolution. This has been done, but no tangible results have been noted from this action at this time. Chicago is following closely and will report any results noted.

An article from the "Guardian" and an article from "New Left Notes" were submitted to the Bureau with a recommendation that they be reproduced for distribution among black militant groups. These articles question the right of SDS to claim the support of the BPP and accused SDS of dictating to all persons the "correct line" for revolution. No reply has been received from this request.

### 3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

A 27-page cartoon book entitled "Into the Streets, A Handbook for Revolting Kids," a satire of SDS, was distributed to moderate groups to alert them to the revolutionary ideals of SDS. [redacted] reported that this book was well received and sparked interest among its readers and caused concern over SDS activities. This book appeared to be especially successful among high school groups where SDS was attempting to organize.

On June 6, 1969, an anonymous letter was mailed to various key persons in SDS accusing the national office faction of refusing to hold a national convention because of fear of the strength of the pro-Progressive Labor, Worker Student Alliance (WSA).

[redacted] reported persons receiving this letter felt WSA might not have written it, but that it was credible. This source further reported this letter had created distrust of WSA. It is further noted that immediately after this letter was disseminated, SDS rented the Chicago Coliseum at a reported

CG 100-45316

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cost of \$2,000 to hold their national convention. This rental fee required SDS to charge a \$5.00 delegate fee, which caused discontent and anger among many of the delegates. It is further noted that SDS split during this convention, the national office faction walking out and leaving WSA to hold its own version of the "SDS convention."

An article appeared on page one of the "Chicago Tribune" which resulted from the Bureau authorized contact by SAC M. W. JOHNSON with [REDACTED] the "Chicago Tribune." This article outlined the factional dispute and the pro-Chinese communist alignment of both major factions of SDS. This caused irate reaction by SDS leadership and caused disaffection among non-aligned members who did not hold a commitment to Maoist teachings. This aggravated a tense situation and helped create the confrontation that split SDS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date 6/24/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re my airtel, 6/18/69.

For the further information of the Bureau concerning the contact of SAC M.W. JOHNSON with [REDACTED] the "Chicago Tribune," pursuant to the authority of Section Chief C.D. BRENNAN, for the purpose of having an in-depth article concerning the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), prepared, the following information is set forth. "Chicago Tribune" [REDACTED] was assigned to write an article on the forthcoming SDS National Convention.

On 6/16/69, [REDACTED] met with SAC JOHNSON, Field Supervisor [REDACTED] and SA [REDACTED] who provided background information available from public sources, and sharpened the understanding of [REDACTED] relative to the underlying political dispute between the factions vying for the control of SDS.

The story appeared on page one of the 6/17/69 "Chicago Tribune." A copy of this article was furnished the Bureau in referenced airtel.

2 - Bureau (RM)

3 - Chicago

(1 - 100-490903)

(1 - 100- ) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY)

RHW:hmm

(5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

70 JUL 8-1969

CG 100-45316

On 6/18/69, [REDACTED] advised that MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, SDS, was extremely irate with the article, particularly with the association of [REDACTED] with the Revolutionary Union (RU).

On 6/23/69, this source reported that there was widespread discontent among the delegates to the SDS National Convention, with politics of RU and their attempt to "take over SDS."

[REDACTED] reported numerous press inquiries concerning the article, which were generally met with a reply of "No comment."

It is noted that this article set the tone for other news media with emphasis on the factional split between SDS and the pro Progressive Labor Party factions. Articles in other papers in the Chicago area bore headlines such as:

"We Witness Decline of SDS," and

"Communism Lone Victor, Regulars Split  
With Progressive Labor Party."

It is the opinion of Chicago that this article created a general awareness among convention attendees of the groups' struggle for control of their organization.

It is noted that SDS and Pro Progressive Labor Party factions had split, each electing a slate of national officers. Even within the SDS Pro National Office faction there appears to be considerable friction between the followers of MIKE KLONSKY and the Revolutionary Union, and the followers of BERNARDINE DORN, who won all three national offices. It is felt that this article forced all groups to harden their stances, thereby alienating a large number of non-aligned members and leaving a number of disillusioned delegates who do not have a strong commitment to any of the factions.

CG 100-45316

This, it is felt, has weakened SDS severely.

Chicago is alert to the possible future use of this technique in the counter intelligence program, and if the opportunity presents itself Chicago will make appropriate recommendations to the Bureau.

Recommendation for personnel action are being submitted by separate communication.

FBI

Date: 6/18/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
NEW LEFT

Enclosed is a copy of an article appearing on  
 page 1, of the 6/17/69 "Chicago Tribune."

The enclosed copy of KOZIOL's article is captioned  
 "RED UNIT SEEKS SDS RULE."

(It is noted that the "Chicago Tribune" has the actual  
 reputation of being one of the most conservative newspapers in  
 the nation.)

It is fully expected that this article will  
 greatly encourage factional antagonisms during the SDS Convention.

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 1)(RM)  
 4 - Chicago  
     (1 - 100-40903)  
     (1 - 100-  
     (1 - 105-  
         (REVOLUTIONARY UNION)

RHW:dmv/pag  
 (6)

Approved: 51 JUL 21 1969  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

INTS. SEC.

# Red Unit Seeks S.D.S. Rule

## UNDERGROUND GROUP TO ACT AT MEETING Pro-Chinese Ties Told

BY RONALD KOZIOI

An underground communist organization is expected to vie for control of the radical Students for a Democratic Society when the S. D. S. opens its national convention here tomorrow, THE TRIBUNE has learned.

The underground group, which recently has emerged after a year of secret organizing in the San Francisco bay area, is known as the Revolutionary Union or the Red Union.

### Affiliates with Groups

In recent months, the union has affiliated with other militant groups in Chicago and Los Angeles to "educate and develop a cadre for the coming revolution," according to investigators in the San Francisco area.

The first link with the pro-Chinese communist union was learned by investigators in March when a leader of the union, Robert Avakian, attended an S. D. S. conference in Austin, Tex. Undercover agents said that Avakian was warmly

greeted by Michael Klonsky, national secretary of the S. D. S.

### Indications of Support

Further evidence of the union's influence on the S. D. S. is that one of the speakers at the convention will be Chris Melton, an associate of Avakian's, who authorities say has lived in Red China for four years. Avakian, while there, was a member of the Red Guards, a revolutionary group.

There are indications, investigators said, that Klonsky will support Avakian for the post he will vacate, that of national secretary.

The Revolutionary Union recently declared its principles in a 31-page booklet entitled "The Red Papers." In it, it was noted that the "main force and leader of a united front against imperialism must be the working class."

The booklet quotes extensively from the teachings of Marx and Lenin and tells of "the need of the working class to acquire arms to overthrow the power of the ruling class."

The union used its booklet to criticize the Progressive Labor party, which has been accused by S. D. S. leaders of receiving operating funds from the Chinese communist government.

Investigators noted that plans are under way by Progressive party leaders to take over the S. D. S. and indoctrinate the group with its own brand of pro-Maoist and Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Most of the party's delegate strength to the S. D. S. convention will come from the east coast and sections of the west

coast, including a large contingent from the Berkeley (Cal.) S. D. S. chapter. This chapter was recently taken over by leaders of the Progressive party.

### Caucus Group to Work

Investigators noted that the Progressive Labor party members are well disciplined and are easily identified at S. D. S. conventions or meetings because they wear clean shirts and ties, in contrast to the slovenly appearance of other S. D. S. members and leaders.

Also working for the party at the convention will be the Workers Student alliance, which is described as a caucus group which sympathizes with the Progressive party. Its members are expected to lobby for the party among uncommitted delegates.

Federal and local authorities, who have been watching closely the activities of the S. D. S.,

believe that the factional infighting at the convention could lead to the formation of new revolutionary student groups.

### Rudd May Join Race

"At all depends which group gains control," said one investigator. "But whichever does, the same Marxist-Leninist theories of revolution will be followed."

Authorities have learned that Mark Rudd, S. D. S. activist who led the riots at Columbia university, may make a bid to run as the national secretary. If Rudd is unsuccessful, plans are under way to place him on the national interim committee of the S. D. S., which sets policy for the group.

Besides Klonsky, whose father, Robert, was the former organizational secretary for the Communist party in eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, two other national leaders of the S. D. S. will leave office.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

EDITION: 3 STAR FINAL

DATE: 6-17-69

PAGE: 1 COL: 3

EDITOR: CLAYTON CREEPATRICK

CHICAGO OFFICE

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 17 1969	
FBI—CHICAGO	

106-214-9-1-44

RECEIVED 11/17/72

They are Bernadine Dohrn, the interorganizational secretary, and Fred Gordon, education secretary, who has been known to sympathize with the aims of the Progressive Labor party.

Miss Dohrn played an active role in organizing a legal defense campaign thru the leftist National Lawyers guild for those arrested in the Democratic convention disorders last August, and was among 20 American students who traveled to Budapest to confer with leaders of the National Liberation front in the fall of 1968.



Michael Klonsky

F B I

Date: 6/17/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau 6/13/69,  
 captioned "Counterintelligence and Special Operations  
 (Nationalities Intelligence)" (Bufile 105-174254).

Chicago does not concur with the recommendation  
 of San Francisco in referenced airtel. New Left Notes  
 is distributed to all Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)  
 national members; therefore, all persons participating  
 in the National Convention will have received the copy of  
 New Left Notes which contains the letter San Francisco  
 desires to have distributed.

Further, all factions attempting to gain control  
 of SDS, such as the KLONSKY supported Revolutionary Youth  
 Movement faction; the Pro Progressive Labor, Worker  
 Student Alliance faction; and the Revolutionary Union will  
 tend toward more centralized control of the organization.  
 This factionalism will be the primary disruptive force  
 at the convention, while the anarchists, by their own  
 lack of a common goal and organization are not expected  
 to be a decisive or influential force.

As the proposed action would be redundant, and  
 in the opinion of Chicago, not effective, Chicago will  
 take no action UACB.

- (3) - Bureau (RM)  
 (1 - 105-174254)  
 2 - San Francisco (RM)  
 (1 - 105-22479)  
 2 - Chicago  
 (1 - 105-26004)

REC-24

JUN 19 1969

RHW:pag  
 (7)

Exempt from automatic downgrading and  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

151774  
 SEC.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

55 JUN 30 1969

FBI

Date: 6/6/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re phone conversation between SAC, Chicago, and Inspector JOSEPH A. SIZOO of the Bureau, this date.

Enclosed is one copy of letter discussed in referenced phone conversation.

Approximately 50 copies of enclosed letter were distributed by anonymous mailing in Chicago this date, pursuant to verbal authority received in phone conversation.

ENCLOSURE

REC-84

(2) Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RHW:hmm  
(3)

54 JUN 24 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

## WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE CHALLENGE TO THE NO COLLECTIVE

The No collective is refusing to hold an National Convention. They have turned down suitable sites for flimsy reasons, claiming inadequate facilities, or unacceptable geographic location. We of the worker-student alliance (wsa) are ready and willing to hold a convention any place, from New York to San Francisco or if necessary in Lincoln Park. We charge that the true reason for the failure to hold the convention is an attempt to subvert the constitution of sds. The Klonskyites are now aware of the broad base of support for the wsa program. The efforts of the Klonskyites to remain in power and continue their minority domination of sds started with blatant censorship, by refusing to print Fred Gordons' work-in pamphlet, and is culminating with the refusal to hold an open convention.

This manipulation of the convention scheduling is an obvious attempt by the Klonskyites to damage the wsa summer program. They are attempting to force wsa to either give up the possibility of meaningful summer organizing, or miss the convention, thereby putting them in a position to retain power at the convention, or criticize wsa for the failure of their summer project.

The victories of wsa at Harvard, at Berkeley, and at many other universities has created a fear among the anti-worker, pro-nationalist faction.

When inquiries are made of the NO they only reply that "we will send you a mailing to tell you where and when the convention will be held". This failure to give public notice of the convention is an obvious attempt to control the delegates attending, and prevent pro-wsa, pro-PL, and pro-working class delegates from learning where and when the convention will be held, until Klonsky has been re-elected by a mandate of the "convention".

It can be anticipated that the NO collective will hold a secret meeting, and re-elect Klonsky, Dohrn, or others who have demonstrated their loyalty to the "vanguard of the revolution".

We of the wsa demand an immediate, publically announced, open convention, not a "student Chicago".

WSA COMMITTEE FOR AN OPEN CONVENTION

100-4470 25-7-42

F B I

Date: 6/11/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

Remyairtel dated 6/6/69.

To date the following results have been realized from the anonymous mailing distributed 6/6/69.

On 6/9/69, [REDACTED] advised that members of the SDS National Office (NO) staff were concerned about the letter. They thought that it might have been done by a Third Party but there was support for the idea of bringing the matter to the floor of the forthcoming convention to resolve this dispute between PLP and SDS faction.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This letter has caused some concern and suspicion between the two factions of SDS. With the convention now scheduled to be held in Chicago, starting June 18, 1969, Chicago is remaining alert to exploit any suspicion or distrust created by this letter.

1 cc 902 9&D  
 2 - Bureau (RM)  
 3 - Chicago  
 (1 - 100-40903)  
 (1 - 100- ) (PLP)

REC 99

20 JUN 14 1969

RHW: pag  
 (5)

Approved: 53 JUN 23 1969  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

CG 100-45316

It is noted that SDS has been forced to pay \$2,000 for a convention site which the Coliseum will cost them partly because they felt an increased need for an early convention. It is felt that the letter may have exerted pressure on them to take any site available, rather than wait until they could locate a less expensive site.

Chicago remains alert for potential counter-intelligence actions which may arise during the preparation for, and during the National Convention, and will submit proposals as opportunities appear.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago

5/21/69

Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
(CGFILE 157-2209)  
(BUFILE 100-448006)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

(CGFILE 100-45316)

(BUFILE 100-449618)

100-449698

ReCGlet 5/1/69.

Authority is granted to instruct selected BPP informants for use in creating a rift between the BPP and the Students for a Democratic Society. These sources should be given different arguments so that this does not look like a plan. Your selection of the sources should be of those who are in a position to influence BPP thinking. Be careful that the sources do not find themselves isolated from the BPP leadership.

The articles appearing in the 4/24/69 edition of "New Left Notes" and "The Guardian" are being reviewed for reproduction as suggested in relet. You will be advised concerning this.

JAM:ra (6)

NOTE:

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the BPP are cooperating in several ways to exploit their common revolutionary aims. Together these organizations pose a formidable threat. Chicago has proposed that BPP informants

SEE NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN

MAY 28 1969

59 MAY 25 1969

Letter to SAC, Chicago  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

be instructed to plant the idea that the SDS is exploiting the BPP. There are various good arguments available to accomplish this such as the SDS is using the BPP for their dirty work or the SDS will relegate the BPP to the status of servants. The planting of this idea in the minds of BPP leaders should pose no problem. It would be a definite advantage if these two groups were alienated. We are authorizing Chicago to instruct selected informants to plant ideas and cautioning them to make sure that the various ideas are different in nature and, of course, will not leave BPP leaders with the idea that this is a plan. Chicago has also made available some newspaper articles with the thought in mind of anonymous mailings. These articles question the SDS - BPP alliance. We are reproducing these articles and will consider for use as counterintelligence.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) (100-448006) DATE: 5/1/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316) (157-2209)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

The activities at the recent National Council meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and current activities of SDS members in the Chicago area indicate that a potentially strong alliance is forming between SDS and the Black Panther Party (BPP). It is the opinion of Chicago that this is a potentially dangerous situation that could provide SDS with the capability to provide major acts of violence through the volatile BPP.

This alliance is a primary target of counter-intelligence action in the Chicago Division. The following action is recommended:

1) Through BPP informants and other Black Nationalist informants plant the idea that SDS is exploiting the BPP, by trying to use them as "cannon fodder" for a white revolution. The recent shift in SDS policies would be evidence of this. In December, 1968, SDS adopted the position that youth should be considered as a class, and urged the formation of a "worker-student alliance," which ignored the oppression of blacks. In March, 1969, SDS shifted to a statement denouncing "dual oppression" of blacks and support of the BPP.

SDS can be attacked as "white revisionists" who have sold out, by siding with Unions which "sold out" the workers in the West Coast dispute with Standard Oil.

4 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
2 - Chicago

RHW:vel  
(6)

REC-106

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

10 MAY 16 1969



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CG 100-45316  
157-2209

The concept of white students studying in universities while Black Panthers are going to jail or being killed in the ghetto would be encouraged.

The BPP can be encouraged to see itself as a mercenary army fighting a black war for white liberation. It can be pointed out that once the revolution is over the BPP will pose a threat to the new white power structure and will be suppressed by the white army that will have developed.

2) If the BPP accepts the above, but does not break with SDS they can be encouraged to "exhibit" SDS by making further demands on them to "prove their loyalty." Increased demand for funds and free printing of BPP literature could place pressure on the strained finances of SDS.

3) If the situation develops, SDS may be encouraged to adopt a position of accepting BPP exploitation as a necessary payment for the mercenary army, which would serve to re-enforce BPP charges.

Under present circumstances, SDS is giving complete, almost slavish support to the BPP, which would jeopardize the standing of any SDS informant who criticized BPP. If there is any wavering of the SDS support of BPP, informants would be used to aggravate any developing split.

It is felt that BPP will be receptive to charges of white exploitation, and may react strongly to it, thus weakening or dissolving the alliance with SDS.

Bureau authority is requested to implement the above program and to continue action to widen the split as it occurs.

Chicago will follow this matter closely and recommend further action as appropriate.

CG 100-45316

In addition to the above, recent articles in the Guardian present an additional counterintelligence opportunity.

Enclosed is one copy of New Left Notes (NLN), April 24, 1969, edition, and one copy of the April 26, 1969, Guardian.

On page 2 of NLN is a reprint of an article by JULIUS LESTER, which originally appeared in the April 19, 1969 Guardian.

This article questions the SDS, BPP alliance, challenging the right of SDS to issue their statement of support for the BPP.

On page 7 of the enclosed Guardian is an article by CARL DAVIDSON, a leading SDS theoretician, pointing out the truth of LESTER's statements.

The Bureau is requested to photographically reduce the two articles and print them on unwatermarked paper. It is noted this technique would be within the capability of a student group desiring to reproduce and distribute such articles.

Chicago would then distribute these reprints to a wide cross-section of black militants and SDS members to plant seeds of doubt, and open discussion of this BPP-SDS alliance.

These fliers would be marked to indicate they were being distributed by a group called "Students Against All Racism."

Chicago could anonymously distribute approximately 150 copies of such a flier. As this action would not necessarily be limited to the Chicago area other offices might desire to utilize these fliers.

CG 100-45316

Chicago could mail additional fliers if other offices supply mailing lists. If the Bureau feels that wider distribution is desirable they are requested to provide copies to other offices and request mailing lists to be forwarded to Chicago. Additional fliers would then be required for Chicago.

Chicago continues to be alert for additional opportunities in this area and will submit additional recommendations.

166 - 441615-9-48

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison

Chicago, Ill.

# sds new left notes



## INSIDES

Julius Lester on  
Panther Resolution Page 2

SSOC.....Page 3

Action!..... Pages 4-7

Analyses of NC  
Resolutions .....Pages 9-10

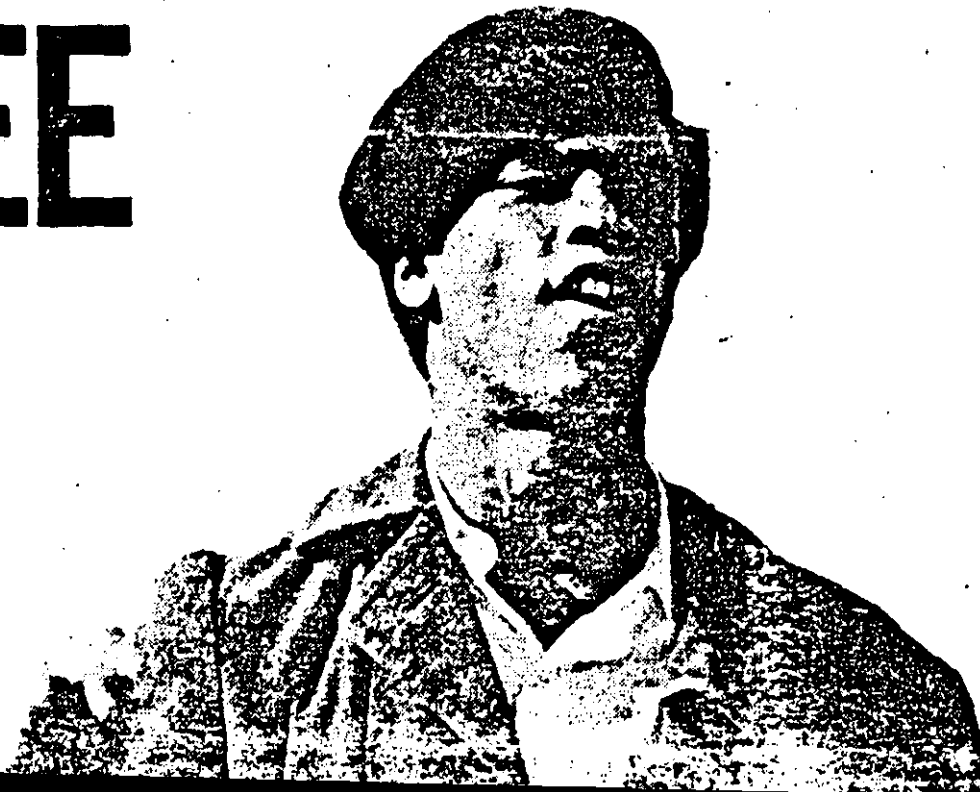
Boycott Standard.. Page 12

Volume 4, #16

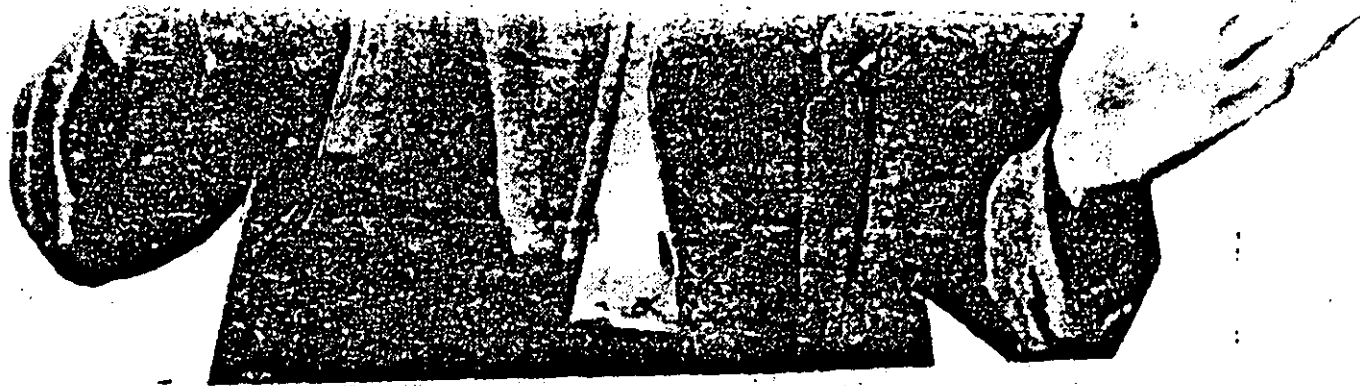
LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

April 24, 1969

# FREE



# HUEY



# ON MAY DAY!

by Mike Klonsky  
SDS National Secretary

Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party, is once again taking his case to the people. On May 1, Federal Judge Alphonso J. Zirpoli will sit in judgment over Huey and the movement for black liberation in this country. Huey and the Panthers have called for massive demonstrations throughout the world to let the power structure know that the

people demand that Huey be set free immediately.

Judge Zirpoli is asking that the state show cause why Huey P. Newton should not be released on bail. Huey is presently serving a 2-15-year sentence for shooting an Oakland pig to death in self-defense after he was ambushed and shot more than a year ago. While the verdict is being appealed, there is a chance that bail could be set and Huey could be back on the streets.

How Judge Zirpoli rules will probably

be determined by how much support is shown Huey by the masses of people. It is clear that the ruling class will keep him locked up for as long as they are able to, knowing that he represents the spirit and will of all oppressed people to rise up and take power. We have got to make the price of Huey's imprisonment too expensive for them to pay.

Because May Day is the international workers' holiday, no finer time could be picked to hold demonstrations and rallies, since Huey has time and time again articulated the needs of all working people and has fought against the exploitation and oppression of all people.

Demonstrations presently being planned include a massive rally in San Francisco at the Federal Court House, 450 S. Golden Gate Ave. It is expected that more than 20,000 will attend this 10 a.m. rally even though it is being called on a weekday.

Another is being called in Chicago at noon at the Federal Building, 219 S. Dearborn. Speakers at the Chicago rally will include Mike Klonsky, SDS National Secretary; Cha Cha Jimenez, head of the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican liberation organization; Fred Hampton,

Chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, and representatives from several other black, white and Latin organizations in the city.

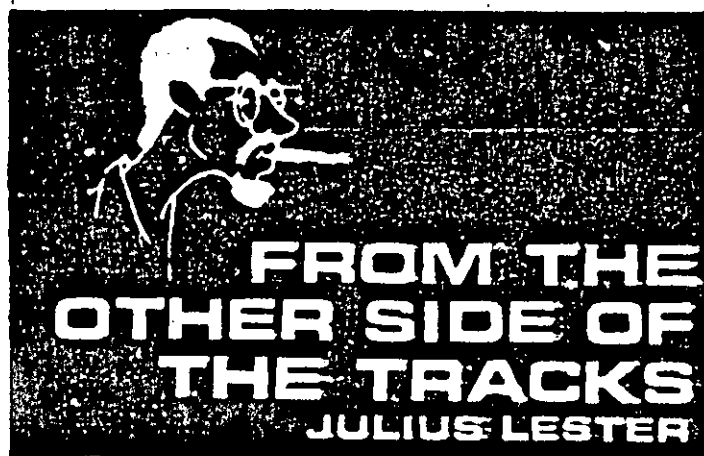
New York, the scene of perhaps the heaviest anti-Panther repression in recent months, is also scheduling a demonstration.

The SDS National Office has sent messages to German SDS and other European movement organizations to ask them to join us in May Day demonstrations, demanding that Huey and all black political prisoners be set free.

Demonstrations should be seen as a chance to implement the Panther resolution passed at the Austin NC. The whole question of following black leadership must be brought out as well as the necessity to attack white supremacy. When we demand that black political prisoners be freed, it presents us with an opportunity to attack the racism of many of our people. Support for black liberation is the only basis for revolutionary class unity, and we must see Huey P. Newton as a leader of the whole people's movement and not just the Panthers.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
FREE HUEY!

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# Lester attacks Panther resolution as racist

Relationships between black and white radicals have always broken down when whites have felt that they knew better than blacks what was best for blacks.

William Lloyd Garrison refused to speak to Frederick Douglass when the latter insisted upon his right to speak as a black abolitionist, not as a Garrisonian. The Communist party was never able to resolve its differences with blacks, who wanted to combine Marxism-Leninism with black nationalism; the usual result was the expulsion or resignation of these blacks from the party. William Monroe Trotter refused to join the NAACP when it was formed because he feared that it would be dominated by whites. W.E.B. DuBois was in constant conflict with the whites in the NAACP, and DuBois only survived because he made the NAACP journal, the Crisis, into his own magazine, a force independent of the NAACP.

## Black Power Concept

With the articulation of Black power, and its tenets of the unassailable right of blacks to define for themselves, we hoped that a new day had arrived. Whites would attempt to organize whites, remaining aware of what was happening within the black movement, supporting that movement and joining in actions whenever the black movement desired such.

Black Muslims, SNCC, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other groups are incorrect. SDS does not do so.

More than halfway through its statement, SDS begins to use the phrase, "and other black revolutionary groups," which does not rectify the statement's initial mistakes. The inclusion of "and other black revolutionary groups" sounds more like an afterthought than anything SDS takes seriously.

SDS goes even further, saying that revolutionary nationalism is correct and cultural nationalism is incorrect. On what basis does SDS presume to know anything about nationalism? The correct and incorrect aspects and uses of nationalism is the most difficult of problems for nationalists; and no one in SDS can ever be a nationalist. If SDS were going to enter into this ideological debate, as it did, then it has a responsibility to define and discuss cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism before reaching its conclusions. SDS simply states its conclusions, which are nothing more than a parroting of the Panther position.

Categorically to state that cultural nationalism is "reactionary" is to falsify irresponsibly the history of the black movement. It is cultural nationalism that has laid the foundation for revolutionary nationalism. It is cultural nationalism that has, more than any other ideology, brought

Whatever the intent of the SDS statement, its effect can only be damaging. Those blacks who are not Panthers, which is most, will of course be offended and insulted. Those blacks who have disagreements with the Panthers will view the statement as interference by SDS in a matter which is none of its concern.

Surely, SDS has not answered all the questions necessary for a revolutionary ideology, program and strategy in the white community that it can presume to answer those questions for blacks.

## White Chauvinism

Because SDS involves itself so directly in the black movement, it exemplifies the very white chauvinism which it, in its statement, claims to be fighting. How can SDS presume to know anything about nationalism? How can SDS presume to know what is the "essentially correct program for the black community"? How can SDS presume to know who is "the vanguard" in the black community? How can SDS presume to know what is the correct military strategy for the black community? SDS presumes to know all of these things, as whites have always presumed to know all of these things for black people.

Last December SDS said that "nationalism is 'the main ideological weapon of the ruling class' within the black community."

because too many of us hide rhetoric—as opposed to learning—to express concepts in a language that to clarify and enlighten.

Given the present state of the movement, clarity and enlightenment are of the priority. SDS, in this instance, has neither.

SDS should have accorded the movement and the black community a modicum of respect by not making its statement public, whatever its intentions may be. By the open attack on the Black Panther party has been made on cultural nationalism, it should be clear that there is an intense ideological struggle taking place within the black movement. That struggle can only be resolved by SDS's intrusion into it is not only unwelcome, it is disruptive and damaging—both to SDS and to the black movement. Blacks know, however, that whites only act in terms of what is in their own interest and it seems that SDS, in its appearances, is more white than black revolutionary.

## Relationship to Black

What is at issue here is the relationship a white radical organization should have to the black radical movement by presuming to know what is in the black community's interest.

pretensions, with the subsequent betrayal of blacks.

The recent SDS statement on the Black Panther party shows that history has repeated itself. The intent of the SDS statement was to show support for the Black Panther party, an aim with which no one has any disagreement. SDS's intent, however, is subverted when the contents of the statement (see page 8) are examined.

What should have been a statement of support is, in effect, a statement in which SDS thrusts itself into the internal affairs of the black movement. It should have been a statement telling the government that SDS stands united with the Panthers against the government's current attempts to destroy them. Instead, it states categorically who the black vanguard is, what the correct ideology is, what the correct military strategy is, and what the correct program is.

### "Vanguard Force"

To say the least, the SDS resolution is unfortunate. That the Black Panther party should have the support and aid of SDS is indisputable. And it is indisputable that SDS has an obligation and responsibility to have relations and even make formal alliances with any black organization willing to enter into such arrangements. But it is not within the province of SDS's responsibilities or rights to assert that any black organization represents "the vanguard force" in "the black liberation movement." That right belongs to the black community and the black community alone. To have so asserted puts SDS in the position of trying directly to guide the black movement and tell that movement what is in its own best interests. This is an insult.

SDS goes further and calls the Black Panther party 10-point program "an essentially correct program for the black community." Whether or not that program is "essentially correct" is not at issue here. What is at issue is SDS's ability to know what is correct or incorrect for the black community. And being an organization of whites, SDS is not in any position to define or analyze for blacks. If SDS is going to attempt to do so, then it must discuss why the Panther program is correct and why the programs of the Republic of New Africa, the

which some blacks have made and many are in the process of making. It is unjust to condemn the black youth who yesterday was "Negro" and has just awakened to himself (his blackness). To condemn him for his cultural nationalism will only make him defensive and retard his growth to revolutionary nationalism.

### Factionalism

The job is to criticize cultural nationalism in such a way as to aid the growth to revolutionary nationalism. To condemn cultural nationalism outright is to divide the movement and create conditions for warring factions. Perhaps this factionalism is inevitable, as at least appears in California between Ron Karenga's US organization and the Panthers. That factionalism, however, is not so in evidence in other parts of the country and it can be avoided. Also, it is necessary to distinguish between cultural nationalism and the establishment's attempts to exploit cultural nationalism.

One of the most difficult of ideological battles is going to be moving cultural nationalists to a position of revolutionary nationalism. That battle cannot be won by the outright condemnation of cultural nationalism at this stage. For SDS to inject itself into this ideological struggle is arrogant beyond all imagining, for it is not a struggle in which SDS has to involve itself. No white organization has the right to condemn cultural nationalism, because no white person can be a cultural nationalist. No white organization has the right to support revolutionary nationalism, because no white can be a revolutionary nationalist. SDS, however, has arrogated unto itself these rights.

When SDS characterizes cultural nationalism as "porkchop nationalism," it is guilty of a racism which blacks have had to endure for much too long. SDS should have enough respect for blacks to use its own language, and not to appropriate the language of another people. One of the hardest and most bitter struggles blacks have waged has been against cultural imperialism. Now it seems that a fight must also be waged against SDS, a group from which one would have expected a little more understanding and sensitivity.

nonrevolutionary." At best, it was racist, as the present statement is racist.

It would have been helpful to us all if SDS had shown us how it reached the first conclusion, reversed it, and reached the second conclusion. An organization which calls itself revolutionary has the responsibility to make us aware of its thought processes and not just present conclusions. SDS, however, presents us with two contradictory conclusions within four months, both wrong, both racist and both put forward with the confidence of Chairman Mao.

Given the content of the statement, it is not surprising that it is a compendium of hackneyed language. It sounded as if it had come straight from the pages of the Black Panther party newspaper, rather than from the organization which gave us one of the great documents of contemporary history, the Port Huron Statement. The language of this statement is one continual left cliché, incomprehensible to anyone who is not part of the left. All the stock phrases of left rhetoric are there, sounding as if they mean something. In actuality, they mean little,

their suspicions confirmed by this statement. Those blacks who maintain that cannot be revolutionary will have statement to offer as proof.

The ultimate irony comes in the SDS could have exemplified its solidarity with the Panthers without involving the particulars of the black movement. The statement is as arrogant and presumptuous as the Progressive Labor party statement last year criticizing the government of Vietnam for entering into negotiations.

The North Vietnamese can laugh at such presumption. The black movement is not in an equivalent position.

The SDS statement damages and SDS may have had of being revolutionary. White organizations of the past failed attempts to work with blacks because they thought they had the right to themselves in questions of ideological tactics which were the concern of alone. Some of us thought SDS was different. It is only regrettable we didn't find out sooner that it wasn't.

## New Left Notes

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# SSOC: the Man gets what he pays for



Michael Klonsky  
SDS National Secretary

A resolution was passed at the Austin NC breaking the fraternal relations SDS previously held with SSOC. Since the NC, I have done some traveling in the South and we in the National Office have heard various reactions to the resolution. I would like to deal with some of these reactions and try and make clear to people why I supported the resolution and think that SDS took a principled position towards SSOC and a correct one strategically in terms of building a revolution in America.

## Foundation Money

First point dealt with in the NC resolution, "Build SDS in the South," was money. SSOC, since its inception, has been funded by CIA conduits, the Field Foundation, the Aaron L. Norman Fund and the Taconic Foundation. At this point in history, the movement in general and SDS in particular must be very clear about our position regarding taking money from the Man. We must carefully evaluate just how the CIA, Kennedy, Rockefeller, Ford and others have skillfully plotted to destroy the movements for peoples' liberation around the world with their two-pronged attack of money and guns.

Depending on foundation funding violates a key rule of building revolutionary mass organizations: we

their rhetoric may say.

All of this doesn't even take into account something which I will deal with later, which is the fact that the membership has no idea where SSOC money comes from. The reaction I got after telling people how SSOC is funded was one of complete surprise. Even many of the people on the SSOC staff had no idea of SSOC's budget or what foundations gave money. They still don't know for sure because none of them have even seen the books. Sounds very much like the NSA scandal. It seems like the guy in charge of fund-raising simply has himself a good thing going. SSOC members ought to demand an account of finances at the next SSOC staff meeting.

Some SSOC members had a different reaction to the question of money. "So what," they said. "If the CIA wants to let us use their money to push our revolutionary politics, that's their stupidity." Let's examine those politics and see why the man pays for them and who's stupid and who's smart.

## Southern Nationalism

For years, SSOC had an analysis of the South which I believe is ahistorical and racist. SSOC staff people maintained that the South is a colony, oppressed by "Northern capitalism" and that the struggle of the people in the South should be for "self-determination." This analysis led to the conclusion that only

talk about workers, they mean white workers. An example of this kind of thinking was the SSOC "Southern History" conference held recently in Atlanta. Of all the speakers invited to teach people about Southern history, none were black, none invited to speak about black history. When they speak of "Southern consciousness" (see The Great Speckled Bird 2:1, March 17, 1969, page 12 by Steve Wise), they mean the consciousness that comes from the cultural development of the white Southerner. The black Southerner fought on the "yankee" side in the Civil War.

## White Culture

When I was in Georgia, the front page of the newspaper told of a black high school student, a member of the band, who was kicked out of school because he refused to play "Dixie." Another was arrested for burning the confederate flag which hung atop a racist frat house at the university. To black people, Dixie and that flag mean slavery and murder. The revolutionary history of the South began with the black slave revolts and continues to the present day. Our own student movement began in the South, in Greensboro, S.C., led by black students. If we try and organize white people as white people, or believe that there is such a thing as revolutionary white culture or white history we will find that no basis for revolutionary class

Examples of this can be taken from our own history books. Early Marxists in America all neglected to see the slaves as members of the working class struggle (let alone as the vanguard). Though they paid lip service to abolition of racism (as does SSOC) their racist practice served to prevent class unity. In 1846, one of them, Hermann Kriege, declared:

"That we could not improve the lot of our 'black brothers' by abolition under the conditions prevailing in modern society, but make infinitely worse the lot of our 'white brothers.'" It is this same kind of white chauvinism which leads to talk of a "Southern colony" based upon white Southerners (or would they allow blacks to integrate once "Northern capitalism" was defeated?)

## Black Colony

If there is any oppressed colony in the South, and I believe there is, then it is obviously a black colony, since black labor built it and died under its weight. While nationalism on the part of oppressed nations is revolutionary at a time when the primary aspect of the class contradiction is between those oppressed nations and U.S. imperialism, it (nationalism) is always reactionary within the (white) mother country. White national chauvinism is one of the primary obstacles facing the working class today.

I believe that Southern

people for the resources—including money—which are necessary for survival. Dependency on foundation resources is incorrect; if our programs and activities are serving the people, then they will support us—by joining us and providing the tools for struggle. If we depend on foundations, we are led to complacency, waste, and made dependent on money that can be withdrawn at a critical moment.

### "Respectable Dissent"

Second, we must understand that the man does not invest his money stupidly. Their job is to control through any means necessary any potentially revolutionary force, to limit the areas of "respectable dissent" as they put it. At a minimum they use their money to influence us subtly—to try to play on those tendencies within every group to modify program and action. At a maximum they hope that over a period of time they can permanently contain the direction of organizations. No group can afford to leave itself open on this count to the sources of its money.

### Infiltration

Third, we all know that the level of infiltration of the movement is increasing rapidly, everywhere. We cannot afford to give the man—the FBI, grand juries, counterinsurgency researchers, or foundations—any more access to the information they need about our organizations (its source of funds, size of staff, content of program, or whatever). It is naive at best to assume that all that the foundations know about organizations that they support is written in some jive fundraising prospectus. And it is jive to think that we can take the money for a while, and then when they find out the "real truth" about how bad we are, make a sudden shift and build an independent fundraising base. It is absolutely wrong to think that we and the liberal sector of the bourgeoisie have similar intermediate goals, so we can make a tactical agreement now and split later. Those who do have goals similar to the liberal bourgeoisie are

all front of it.

At the NC, Student-Worker Alliance people attacked "Southern exceptionalism" saying that there is no reason for any organizing to take on any kind of exceptional characteristics and have maintained that the South was just like anyplace else in terms of the "basic contradiction being between proletariat and capitalist."

While I disagree with SSOC's notion of the South as a colony, I do believe that the nature of the struggle in the South is going to take on special characteristics. This is due primarily to the historic role of the black liberation movement in the South and to the fact that the historical basis for a separate black nation lies in the South.

### White Southerners

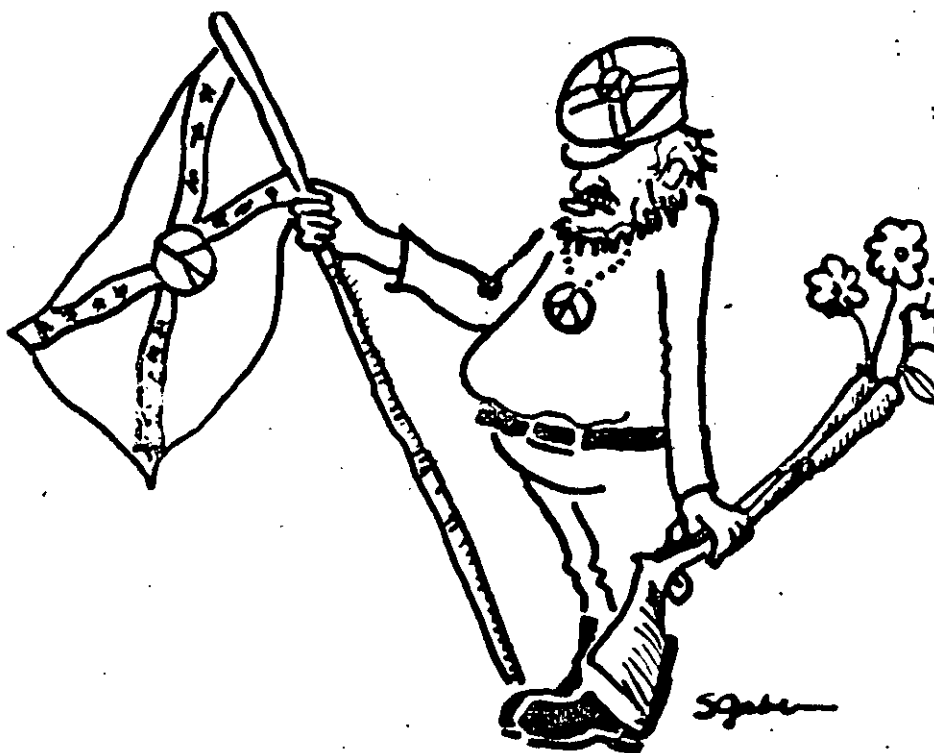
When SSOC staff people talk about Southerners, they usually mean white Southerners. When SSOC staff people

and the white Southerners must be that support.

### "Black Thing"

If we view the black struggle for self-determination as "a black thing" and see the need to organize whites around "their thing," we will never accomplish our primary task, which is waging an attack on white supremacy.

While many SSOC people should be given credit for understanding the necessity to reach working-class people when most people in SDS were into a "new left" bag, talking about the "new working class" as the revolutionary vanguard and Marcuse as a theoretical leader, we also must understand that unless white supremacy is challenged every step of the way, an organized white working class could easily turn on black people as it has done periodically throughout history, instead of allying with them as class brothers.



yankees at the same time SSOC kept those politics from sneaking in from within, bureaucratically.

If your line is "Southern nationalism," then you can try and opportunistically build a student-worker alliance around the concept that "we are all Southerners" and raise the demand for "self-determination" instead of "Socialism." This might make things easier because you wouldn't have to deal with the basic contradiction of racism. Both SSOC with its reactionary "Southern nationalism" and WSA with its claim that "all nationalism is reactionary" will have to come to grips with the fact that our primary task is attacking white supremacy. Though seemingly contradictory, both lines are racist.

### Student Power

Another line that the Man will gladly pay to keep dominant in the South is "student power." Every chapter of SSOC which I visited was stocked full of SSOC literature calling for "student power." Again SDS should not be too smug about this. Most of that literature is old SDS literature and that shows that you reap what you sow. However, because SDS has been carrying out the principle of taking its politics to the people and learning from the people, the principle of "student power" has been discredited throughout most of the organization.

Despite pro-working-class rhetoric, student power has been used throughout the South, due to a lack of faith in the masses of workers who built the schools with their own sweat and blood and who certainly would object to "student power."

For a good critique of "student power" in practice people should read the "Columbia" pamphlet by Mark Rudd (p. 8-10) where he attacks the old SDS interpretation of the dictum that "people have to be organized around the issues that affect their lives." He writes:

"We see the goal of the student movement not as the creation of an eventual power base, involving all students around all their concerns,

from the SSOC paper the Phoenix

# War at Kent State

by Terry Robbins and Lisa Meisel  
Ohio Regional Staff

"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionary forces are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inward weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is near extinction while they themselves are approaching victory." Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

## Intense Struggle

The war is on at Kent State University. Two weeks of intense struggle have seen SDS lead two major actions, rallies, marches, and raised the political consciousness of thousands on the campus while the pig-thug administration has responded with swift and heavy repression. To date, seven people have been charged with inciting to riot (felony), four with malicious destruction of property (felony), and over fifty more arrested on various other charges and suspended from school. Bail for those arrested has already exceeded \$120,000.

The struggle began on April 8, when SDS held a rally and marched through classrooms to the administration building in support of four demands: abolition of ROTC, the Northeast Ohio Crime Lab, the Kent State Law Enforcement School, and the Project Themis-State Department grant for the Liquid Crystals Institute. The demands were presented to "stop this university's ability to serve imperialism and racism, to challenge fundamentally some of the ways Kent State serves the ruling class."

off the campus until May 1.

The seven people suspended were singled out by the administration as "SDS leaders". Before two weeks were out, they would all be in and out of jail four times, each time on an escalated charge. The organizational ban against SDS meant that we could not use university facilities for any reason.

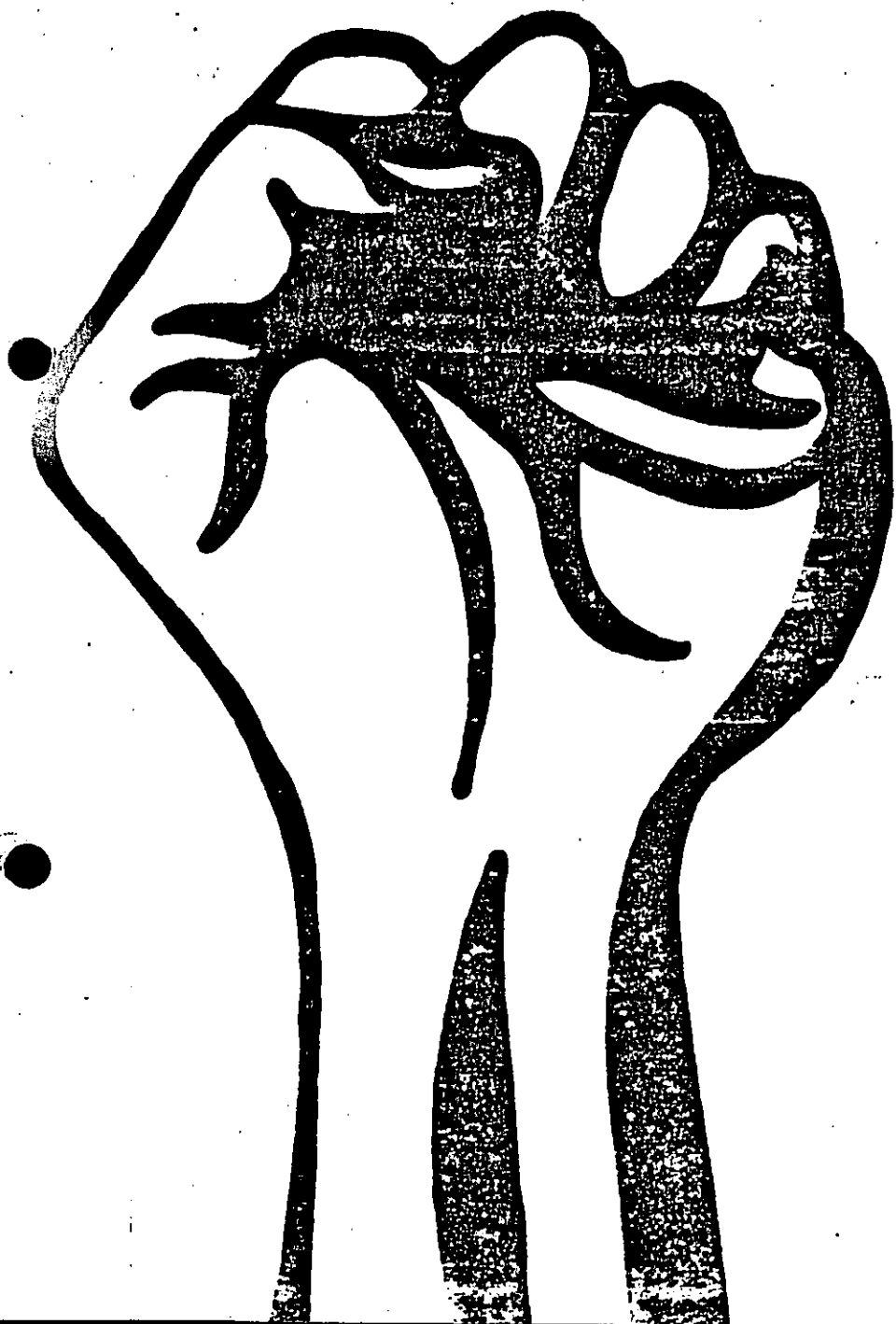
## Rallies and Raps

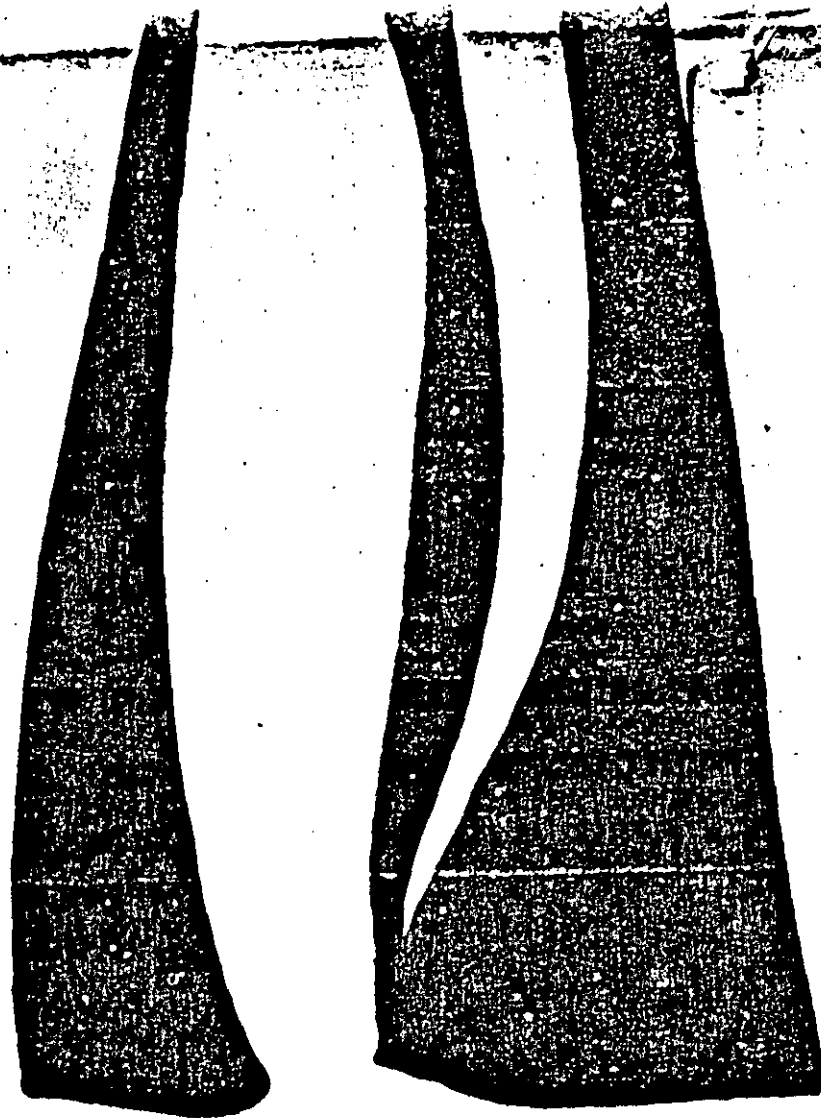
Violating the organizational ban as much as possible, we held several rallies and dorm raps in the next few days. We stressed the political nature of the administration's actions, reaffirmed our four demands and our determination to fight, and added a fifth demand: open and collective hearings for all those suspended.

Like it had done for the other four demands, the university ignored our demand for open and collective hearings, and set Wednesday, April 16, as the trial date for Colin Nieberger. We resolved to open it up.

## Revolution Begun

A rally scheduled for just before the hearing drew about 2000 people. Most were friendly, but a sizable right wing fraternity contingent was also there, heckling. Jim Mellen of REP—an "outside agitator" in town for the week—addressed the crowd and responded to the hecklers by saying: "I know that there are some pigs out there who still think we should occupy Vietnam. And there are some pigs out there who still think they can go into the ghettos and push people around. Well, what we're telling you is that you can't go it





between SDS and some pigs who were blocking the way. Kids' reaction to the fight was generally favorable. The administration's was not.

## SDS Banned

Waiting for dark, the university did four things: 1) They suspended SDS's charter as a recognized campus organization; 2) They suspended seven people: Ric Erickson, Howie Emmer, George Gibeaut, Colin Nieberger, Jeff Powell, Rebel Flanagan, and Curt Resnick; 3) they pressed charges against five of the seven: Ric, Howie, George, Colin, and Jeff on assault and battery; and 4) they sought and received a court injunction keeping the same five people

to make is which side you're on. And we're also telling you that if you get in the way of that revolution, it's going to run right over you!"

About ten minutes later it did.

After the rally we marched—about 700 strong—to the Music and Speech building where Colin's trial was to take place. We found all the doors chained shut, pigs at every door, and a contingent of angry right-wing jocks, blocking our entrance to the main door. We fought for about half an hour SDS fought the jocks to a near standoff, and had them pleading that if only we'd go away, they'd go away too. Instead, we went to



The stories on pages 4-7 represent only a fraction of the action going on around the country. Chapters are reminded to send NLN photographs, articles, and analyses of what's happening in their area.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** Students at three universities in Washington are now engaged in struggles against their schools' ties to the military. Students at Georgetown University held a short sit-in this week, demanding that ROTC be thrown off their campus.

At American University, about 60 people occupied the president's office for a short time with 3 basic demands: an end to all ties with the Center for Research in Social Systems, which does counter-insurgency work; immediate abolition of the Center for continuing education, which helps train local police forces; and the establishment of an autonomous working-class studies department. As the demonstrators were filing out of the building, they were attacked by a group of jocks, who have now claimed credit for non-violently ending the sit-in.

About 50 students have barricaded themselves into the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies on the George Washington University campus in an attack against the school's numerous counter-insurgency research projects. They are demanding an end to the Institute (which does work for the CIA), the Human Resources Research Office (90% of whose contracts are with the Army), the Naval Logistics Research Laboratory, and ROTC and military recruiting. They have also raised a demand for unlimited admissions for blacks (the overwhelming majority of schoolchildren in the city of Washington are black).

**NEW YORK CITY:** Students at Queens College have been moving for the last two weeks against political suppression on the campus after 3 people were suspended for leading an assault against G.E. recruiters. 39 students were arrested on charges of criminal trespass for sitting in against the suspensions and against the firing of a radical teacher. In court, the District Attorney accused the 39 of being part of a national movement against the universities. There has been a strike going on against the school since Monday, when it was up to 75% effective.

**CHICAGO, ILLINOIS:** Students at Niles West High School have called a strike with 150-200 on the picket line every morning. Issues include firing of a "sympathetic teacher" and suppression of a student underground newspaper.

**HOUSTON, TEXAS:** 500 students rallied this week at the University of Houston reaffirming their support of the black students' demands and calling for amnesty for the Houston 14—those indicted last week for previous actions on the campus.

**TUCSON, ARIZONA:** A protest march of 200 people broke the stillness of the University of Arizona last week. Led by the Black Student Union and SDS, the marchers were demanding that City Hall drop all charges against black people brought during the recent police occupation of a racially mixed section of town in Tucson, the end of police harassment, and the withdrawal of police from the area.

The police occupation began several weeks ago after a firebombing in a racially mixed apartment complex. During the occupation, blacks were subjected to trumped-up arrests, racist name-calling, and other police harassment. In response the campus Black Student Union called a meeting to make the white community aware of what was going on. About 400 white people attended, and SDS spokesmen called for the march on city hall. Tucson's mayor was found outside the Student Union Building at the beginning of the march. His car was immediately seized (with him inside) and held captive for 20 minutes. He then agreed to schedule a hearing on the students' demands later this month. The local SDS chapter plans to continue an education-action program.

**DES MOINES, IOWA:** The Black Panther Party of Des Moines was subjected to another round of pig power structure attacks last week as they held a community rally to explain the Free Breakfast for School Children program they are conducting in the community. At the conclusion of the rally, as the Panthers were packing up to leave the site, the pigs busted them for "inciting to riot" and other charges; other sisters and brothers were beaten. In almost every city where the Panther Party has begun the Breakfast for Children program, they have been met with increased arrests and harassment, making clear that one conspiracy exists for sure: a nationwide pig conspiracy to destroy the Black Panther Party and other black organizations trying to serve the people.

# Cornell blacks arm, win demands

Over 150 members of the Cornell Afro-American Society seized the student union last week in response to the university's discipline against five blacks for previous demonstrations. After 33 hours the university administration capitulated to the demands, and the blacks, who were heavily armed for self-defense, left



agreement reached which ended the occupation, but under heavy pressure from students on campus, changed its vote on Wednesday, April 23, and accepted it.

For the last year, black students at Cornell have been fighting for a black studies department and have carried out several harassing actions against the university to back up their demand. The trustees finally accepted the black studies program, but at the same time decided to discipline six "leaders" of the black students' actions. The six refused to appear before the judicial board; instead, the Afro-American society appeared as a whole and charged that the board was not a jury of their peers and was not qualified to deal with racial cases. Last Thursday the six students received reprimands in absentia, and on Saturday morning the AAS moved into the student union and moved out the visitors and workmen in the building. The AAS worked closely with SDS, which organized a continuous security force of several hundred students to guard the student union from attacks by the police or right-wing students. Several rallies of over 1,000 showed the growing student support for the blacks' demands.

On Sunday the administration reached a 7-point agreement with the black students and promised withdrawal of the reprimands, amnesty for the sit-in, university help in getting legal aid if anyone pressed civil charges, and revision of the disciplinary procedures. After the faculty repudiated the agreement, SDS held a mass meeting of 7,000 people who decided to stay where they were (in the gymnasium) until the black students' demands were met. 3,000 people stayed on Tuesday night, and the university president, who had originally declared a state of martial law on the campus and had banned all further political action, declared the occupation illegal. The next afternoon the faculty gave in to the demands. In response to calls for a boycott of classes made by right-wingers and SDS, the administration has called off classes for the rest of the week and is still trying to cool off the campus.



# Insurrection at Stanford

by Fred Cohen, Gini Linsley,  
and David Pugh, Stanford SDS

After the successful strike at S.F. State, many people began to think that radicals should leave the elite schools and concentrate on organizing in community and city colleges. Our experience at Stanford is showing not only that we can successfully organize an elite student body, but that we have at the same time gained an important strategic lever in the fight against imperialism. (Stanford and the Stanford Research Institute do \$60 million of work per year for DoD and play a major role in coordinating the economic ventures of America's largest corporations.) Ironically, the corporate liberals who run Stanford, like former trustee David Packard, see the university as a bastion of imperialism, while the dynamic of the Stanford environment is negating their purpose. The conflict between the professed values of liberal humanism, which are readily internalized by the students, and the electronic warfare research being done on campus, creates a volatile situation which was not anticipated by Mr. Packard and his class brothers. Anti-war sentiment is the natural outgrowth of this type of liberal education. When the economic and military role of the university is exposed, this sentiment can be translated into a movement which challenges the university and thus presents a potentially significant threat to American foreign policy.

## Bring SRI Home

This year at Stanford, SDS initiated a campaign of education and action focusing on the university's function within the system of U.S. imperialism.

*I sit in  
you sit in  
he sits in  
we sit in  
you sit in  
they kill*



with the trustees. Fifty of us attempted to get them to speak to our demands, and when they refused we chased them off the campus. The immediate response of most students was to react against the tactic, while at the same time reaffirming support for the demands. Judicial hearings, which resulted in the suspension of 26 students and the expulsion of three (although all sentences were suspended with the option to renew), were highlighted by the paternalistic attempt of the trustees and the administration to convince us of their commitment to rational dialogue. Holding them to their word, SDS called for an open meeting of the

by liberals to gain leadership failed. Due to the radical nature of the demands, the liberals were unable to provide any direction which seemed to lead toward the realization of the goals. The clearest example of a liberal failure was the student body president's bid for leadership which was permeated with pious morality, but which offered no political suggestion other than to leave the building. Only the radicals were able to present proposals which were meaningful in terms of the goals. The effect was not a compromise of radical politics but rather a rapid process of radicalization of liberals.

## Small Groups

The most important vehicle in this process was the utilization of small group discussions. During the first few days of the sit-in some of us were vehemently attacked as manipulators and violence-mongers. The dynamic of the small groups, along with a decentralized decision-making process, helped to dispel the fears of our morally committed but politically inexperienced comrades. As these fears diminished, the possibility of relevant political discussion grew. With demands as radical as ours, all realistic political discussion was bound to move in a radical direction. Our demands directly challenge the vested interests of the Stanford trustees, who run corporations like Lockheed, General Dynamics, Union Oil, Tenneco, Cal Standard, etc. At an elite university this means that many of the demonstrators were forced into actual confrontation with their own class background. During the nine-day occupation of AEL, students who previously seemed destined to run the large corporations began to seriously question the assumptions of their prior ideologies. Including the value of

future of the movement at Stanford appears to be well founded. A complicity statement was signed over 1400 people, and we have received statements in support of both our goals and tactics from eight fraternities almost every dormitory, and numerous groups in the Palo Alto community. At a meeting on Friday, April 18 (the day we had left the building), attended by over 3000 students, support of particular demands ranged from 70-100%. The sit-in tactic was overwhelmingly approved, and almost 1700 stated if the demands were not met they would participate in direct action. Is it really futile to organize in an elite school?

## Elite Schools

We are not saying that all attention should be focused on the elite schools. But we are saying that it is wrong to summarily dismiss the possibility of organizing effectively at all types of universities. The nature of the school will determine the political style and the issues raised by the organizers. In the past the national movement has annually shifted its focus from one social group to another as the key agent of radical social change: working class, old working class, poor people, black people, and young people. Only if SDS is willing to experiment by attempting to work with diverse groups will we ever be able to build both the broadest possible base and locate with any degree of certainty the most likely constituencies for a left-wing revolutionary movement.

GEE PROFESSOR!  
CAN WE COME IN  
AND CHECK OUT  
THE LAB?

of the demands generated interest but not active support. The lack of widespread knowledge of what goes on at Stanford was our central problem. Low-level confrontation at strategic locations where war research is conducted focused attention on the issues and created a receptive situation for dorm organizing. Our style, which avoided rhetoric and did not substitute militancy for politics, enabled us to begin to build support.

On Jan. 14 we took our first real militant action, a direct confrontation

proved to be less than expected, and to quote Dean of Students Joel Smith, "SDS was back in business."

## Demands

Meanwhile one faction of SDS formed a new organization called the SRI Coalition, which played a central role in consolidating the support generated by the open meeting. On April 3 SDS co-sponsored a community meeting at which 700 people demanded that all CBW, counter-insurgency, war-related, and classified research be discontinued at both Stanford and SRI. Anticipating the desire of the trustees to minimize disruption on campus by selling SRI, we also demanded that SRI be both retained and controlled by the university.

## Occupation

A trustee meeting was scheduled for April 8, at which we predicted they would try to co-opt the growing movement by placing a moratorium on CBW research while not dealing with the other issues. They responded according to our schedule, but our response was far from what they expected. At an April 9 meeting of over 1,000 people we voted by a two to one margin to occupy the Applied Electronics Laboratory (AEL), the local center for research in electronic warfare techniques.

The central problem facing us in the sit-in was how to maintain a coalition of radicals and self-proclaimed liberals without compromising our politics. However, we found that at the large daily meetings of the sit-in all attempts

probably occur only at an elite university which is largely dependent on private endowments. The administration fear of an outraged group of alumni was a deterrent to the use of police force. However, the existence of classified documents in AEL brought pressure from both the Defense Department and the FBI to remove us. President Pitzer came up with a solution which got us out of the building, but the nature of our withdrawal creates a situation favorable both to future actions and the achievement of our demands. One function of the sit-in was to stop the research at AEL, and Pitzer is effectively continuing that aspect of our task by closing the building for a week. We therefore can use this week to regain our physical strength and to devote more time to organizing support for the demands while avoiding the possibility of being co-opted into a liberal university reform movement. Our strategic position could not be much better.

Throughout the demonstration Pitzer has publicly stated that police would only be used in response to federal pressure. Our response has been to show that this substantiates our claim that the university is an important part of the defense establishment. Thus, if the police are called, it will serve to strengthen support for our demands rather than shifting the issue to police on campus.

By leaving the building we have also put pressure on the liberal faculty to come through on their assertions that they supported our goals but could not act under coercion. In the absence of a "coercive" tactic and with the presence of two faculty decision-making meetings in the next week, they are in a less than enviable position. If they fail to vote in accordance with their stated morality, not only will they lose all credibility but they may also be responsible for sparking a massive campus action. If they fulfill their part of the bargain, they are in effect creating a united front against the trustees.



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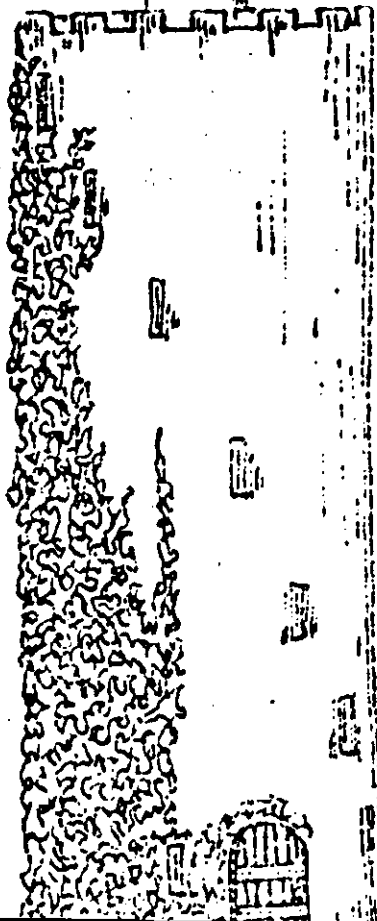
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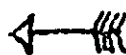
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Chief Deputy Attorney university professor so fa were candidly told that son fees from oil companies," b "There isn't any doubt petroleum engineering at U the oil companies, but that



THE  
IVORY  
TOWER



**NEW YORK CITY:** Over 500 people held a rally Thursday at Brooklyn College and moved into a mass march around campus, chanting "open it up or shut it down." They then took over the lobby of the administration building and used it for a three-hour teach-in. The action centered around 18 demands made by black and Puerto Rican students, including open admissions for black and Puerto Rican youth, a black studies department, a cultural center, and an end to chemical and biological warfare research on campus. SDS at Brooklyn has voted to support the blacks' and Latins' demands down the line, and is now working together with them in building the struggle.

**PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY:** About 100 students threw the Marine recruiter out of Princeton last Monday and then came back on Wednesday to shut down campus's Institute for Defense Analyses research complex by blocking the entrances to the building. More is planned in the next week against ROTC and the military.

**ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN:** More than 60 persons demonstrated at the Miss Ann Arbor beauty pageant, protesting the contest's selection of "ideal women" and the "phony set of standards epitomizing many of the roles this society assigns to its women." The action was the first around women's liberation in Ann Arbor.

People outside the building leafleted and picketed with signs such as "I dreamt I was liberated from my Maidenform mentality" and "Women's dream—liberation; women's reality—oppression." People inside disrupted the proceedings until they were ejected by ushers from the Ann Arbor Jaycees. Following the actions, a teach-in on women's liberation attracted more than 200 persons.

**NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA** (by Bob Berschinski): Southern University in New Orleans is an all-black, state-run university built ten years ago in a swampy area near Lake Ponchartrain. The land has never been filled in, and when it rains SUNO is a swamp. The original plans called for one new building per year. After 10 years, SUNO has 4 buildings, only one of which is designed for classrooms. Over 2,000 students are crammed into space designed for 500. Some departments have only one professor for up to 500 students, others are headed by an instructor.

Southern is less than five blocks away from LSUNO, a predominantly white campus of the same age. LSUNO has a brand new student center, library, and science building. It is now building 3 new dorms in the middle of its landscaped campus. The contrast is apparent to any observer.

Last week a group of black students at SUNO overpowered three campus cops, lowered the American flag, and replaced it with the flag of black liberation. The black student group then read a list of demands to a cheering crowd of about 300 students. The demands called for an immediate building program, a black liberation course (to be taught by local SNCC staff), the replacement of Dean Emmet Bashful, and a larger student voice in curriculum in order to make the university more relevant to the surrounding community.

The Dean unsuccessfully tried to address the students and was then locked in his office with six cops. After the rally the students decided to flush him out,

## Kent State

(continued from Page 4)

another entrance, where the chains were already broken, and surged in.

We found the doors to the third floor chained shut, and protected from the inside by several pigs. Chanting "Open it up, or shut it down", about 150 SDS people broke through the doors and the pigs, and rushed to the hearing room.

The hearings, of course, were cancelled the minute we got there. We had been fighting continuously for almost an hour and decided to split.

But the University had something else in mind. As we were leaving the building we were stopped, by state patrolmen, city pigs, university pigs, and plainclothesmen. We were then detained for 4 1/2 hours while the university figured out what to do with us.

Crowds began gathering outside. We spoke to them through bullhorns, talking up the demands, why we had busted up the hearings, and how the lackies of the ruling class had us locked up in the building. Before it was all over, over ninety of our people escaped, but fifty-eight were arrested, charged with "trespassing" and arraigned at \$1000 bail each.

Among those arrested were the seven students who had been suspended out of our first action.

Two days later, on April 18, they were all charged with inciting to riot.

### After the Action

Since the action and the busts, several things have happened:

—A liberal, civil-libertarian coalition has grown up to alternately defend SDS's "rights" and viciously red-bait us;

—The Ohio regional conference, 150 people from twelve chapters across the state, scheduled to meet last weekend at Oberlin, met instead at Kent. Kids from chapters all over the state spent the weekend rapping in dorms, and held meetings on the campus Sunday night;

face heavy charges, with total bail exceeding \$120,000, and the administration has succeeded at least to some extent in scaring a lot of people and obfuscating our original demands, and allowing the civil liberties whiz kids to spring up.

On the other hand, SDS has made several key advances. We have fought, and fought hard, making it clear that we are serious and tough. We have constantly stressed the primacy of the four demands, maintaining that political repression is only an extension of the people's oppression, never getting hung up in the civil libertarian or pro-student privilege defenses of our action. We have demonstrated tactical flexibility, using confrontation, rallies, dorm raps, etc.—all geared to increasing the possibility or reality of struggle in a given tactical situation. And we have clearly raised the political consciousness of almost the entire campus, winning over many new people, and making it possible to win over many more in the future.

But, most important of all, through struggle, we have made it absolutely clear that the war being waged in Vietnam, in Guatemala, in the black colony in America, will be fought as well at Kent State University.

(One final note: we haven't even started paying court costs or lawyer's fees yet. Contributions are urgently needed, and can be sent to: Kent SDS Legal Defense Fund, c/o Candy Erickson, 2170 N. Depeyster, Kent, Ohio.

### PRINTING

The New England Free Press will conduct an offset printing institute this summer. It begins June 15 or thereabouts and will run 2-3 months. The institute rises out of recognition of the critical need for movement people to know how to print. It will be conducted

The university canceled classes for the rest of the day. The students responded by calling a strike for the rest of the week, allowing the university time to implement their demands. The strike was 100% effective Thursday and Friday. Monday morning the SUNO administration gave in to all the demands except the removal of the Dean. Strike leaders called for two more days of strike in order to help the local APT picket the Orleans Parish School Board. The APT local is striking in order to force the board to grant teachers the right to elect an exclusive bargaining agent.

The strike was about 50% effective on Monday and Tuesday. Classes at SUNO resumed Wednesday as the administration and strike leaders negotiated over the demands.

Jeff and Collin were found guilty of contempt of court, sentenced to 10 days in jail and fined \$200 each (it is on appeal). And bail for the seven charged with inciting to riot was set at \$4000 each.

The situation at this point in the struggle is very mixed. On the one hand, the repression has clearly hurt us: over sixty of our people have been banned from the campus, at least eleven

presses and where the need is greatest, taking into account the local situation. Preference will also be given to full-time radicals. At present there is no charge planned. Open to men and women. For information write Summer Institute, c/o Tim Morearty, New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118.

the administration's decision met opposition from the students. About 750 students occupied the campus by the college president. The pigs came. On Monday the college court injunctions and the pigs have been indicted for criminal acts. The pigs have been fired, but the sit-in is still on for the movement on campus.

thirty-five black students seized a building, putting forth 15 demands. The students want to cool things off.

Some University of Hawaii students sat in to support a professor on campus anti-war group trying to finally rehire by the university. The sit-in was a result of faculty pressure and actions.

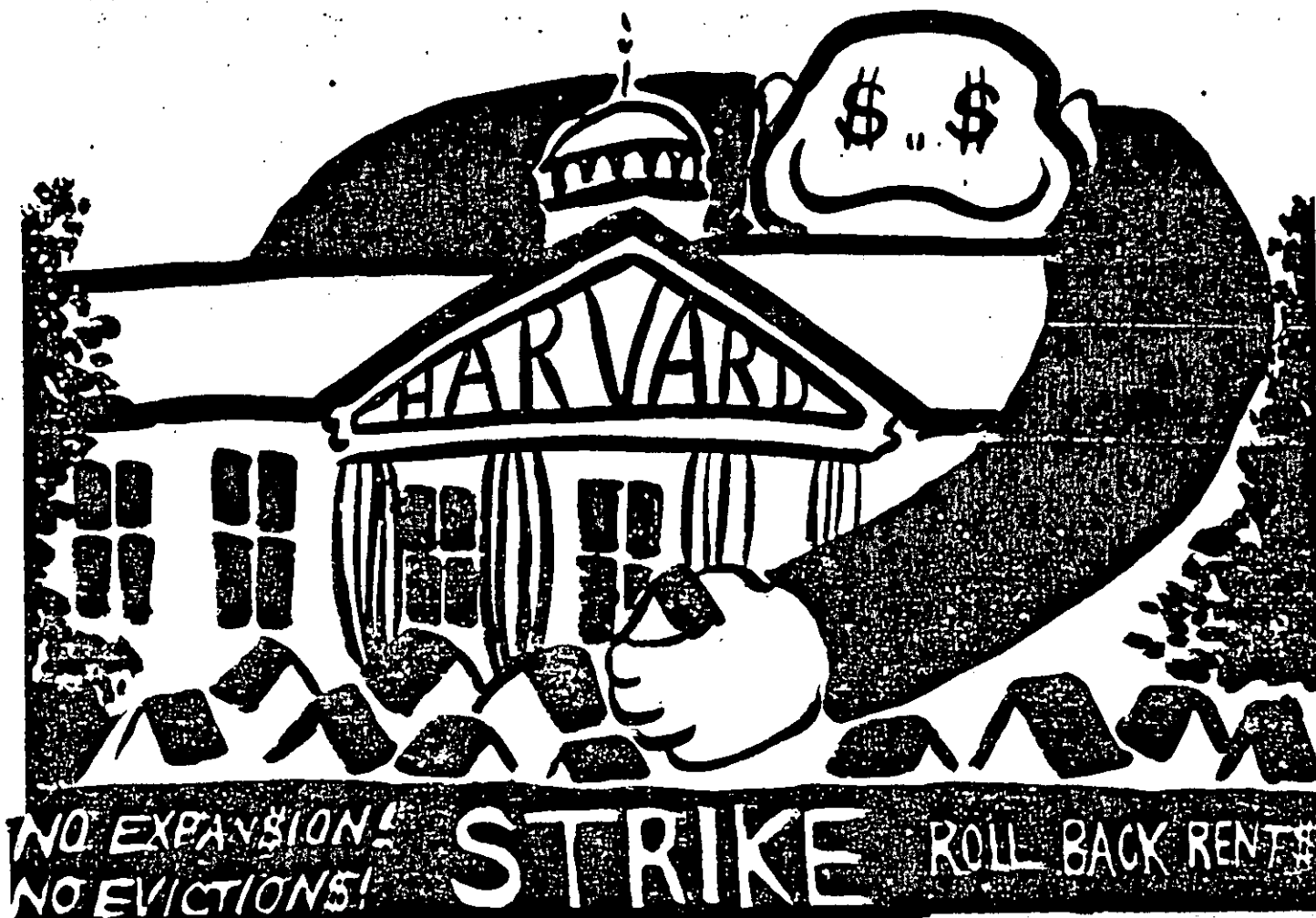
Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party in jail last week after being charged with state terrorism. Rush, out on \$3,000 bail, is the Panther.

The State of California is running into trouble who will testify in the State's companies. University professors, who have refused to give research money, have refused

to work in engineering at the University of California because my work depends on my interest in serving the petroleum industry to the community as to supply it with the industry's engineers, and

the company has been unable to find one to work against the oil companies. "We want to jeopardize their consulting

the chairman of the department of geology. "We train people mainly for



An estimated twelve hundred people were to meet Thursday night, April 24, at Harvard to vote on further action in the struggle against expansion, racism, and ROTC. Last Tuesday

which faculty should receive tenure. On the remaining seven demands, there has been nothing but double-talk from the faculty and nothing at all from the Corporation which is the seat of the administration. The strike has fallen off as students have seen that

# Standard Oil

(continued from Page 12)

of the students, otherwise we couldn't expect them to continue their support. So this was when we decided to hold a press conference, and I as an individual—at that time the local union had taken no formal position, had not taken a position on the position—formally announced my intentions concerning the mutual aid pact and the cooperation of students and workers and what I would do to try and further that idea among the labor movement.

NLN: What was the reaction of the membership after that?

JJ: Well initially, immediately after the press conference became public, things were a little bit heated. People asked me: "What the hell were you doing? Did you have approval of the membership, you weren't speaking for the local?" and things like that. That didn't really bother me too much because I expected that. The main thing was to do just that, was to bring this controversy to the surface, so that people would have to think about it, would have to make a decision on it.

The day after the press conference, I had a meeting with the local union leadership. We spent about 3 or 4 hours in a heated discussion over this. But they voted unanimously to support the position that I had taken in the

conference. Then it was a matter of calling a meeting of the membership and going through the same process of laying out the issues and discussing them. We had two membership meetings, each one of them lasted for about three hours, and it was a completely free and open discussion of all the issues concerning the students and everything surrounding that question: police brutality, the 15 demands, and just what were the objects, what were they trying to accomplish, why are they fighting, what is it they disagree with? After this free and open discussion we had a subsequent meeting where we had another hour of discussion. After that we voted by a 2-1 majority to support the recommendations that had come out of the executive committee to support the students and go ahead with this mutual aid pact.

## Throw Him Out

NLN: During those discussions did you have any representatives of the TWLF or the students come and speak to the membership?

JJ: There were students, I believe, present in one of the meetings, and one of them spoke. We had representatives primarily from the teachers (the AFT), we felt they were very familiar with the students' problems. The spokesman from the AFT did a real fine job on getting across the relationship between the teachers and students and getting across the true story of just what was involved in the 15 demands of the students.

And we had invited, or some of the members (a dissident faction that were unalterably opposed to the students), they wanted to invite representatives of the opposition. Some of them even

substance to them." So there was a continual breaking down of this hardened attitude during the strike.

NLN: How about the reaction from other unions and organized labor groups when you first announced the mutual aid pact?

JJ: Well, the reaction was mixed. People in the labor movement, for example, the secretary-treasurer of the Central Labor Council, looked at this as something that had a lot of potential possibilities politically. He thought that it was a real step forward that the union had taken with the students. And maybe there were a few others, but then on the other hand, the biggest majority of them, their reaction was: "What the hell is that damn Jacobs doing and what the hell are these people doing?" And they tended to be very critical. This continues to the present time. It's a matter of breaking down, just like we had to break down these hard attitudes in our own membership. This is a process that is going to have to go on in breaking down and in getting across to these people just what the heck the problems are and what the potentials are politically and otherwise.

So, I think one significant thing that has happened in the labor movement right in this area is that they really have sat up and taken notice of this thing, and I think many of them recognize the political potential that could develop with such alliances with minority groups and so forth. I think that while they may be reluctant and fearful in a lot of cases of getting in bad with the establishment if you want to put it that way, that they're beginning to realize that they cannot any longer turn their back on these situations.

The student movement, the same as in the minority movements, are sources of power—political power that joined together could really accomplish something. So I think this is one of the things that has been achieved. They're sitting up and taking notice, where

with it and get some of their own problems corrected. So the whole thing posed not only a threat to the immediate situation there in the plant—in effectively shutting down the plant—but the long-range political overtones with the threat of these Third World people going through the city of Richmond and explaining to these minority groups just what the heck Standard was doing—you know, the plight of the oil workers and how that related to their problems. If we had got a political movement going there's no telling what might have happened.

NLN: Did the oil workers for the most part feel that the support from the students was a real honest support—that the students saw the fight of the oil workers as the same fight they were fighting and were not just gimmicks to get support for the strikes at State and Berkeley?

## Honest Alliance

JJ: I think that they saw it as honest support. You can't deny that in the beginning we didn't even ask them for support. And in fact the students and the Third World people probably made the first move by coming to the picket lines and asking if we wanted their help. Of course, if you take the Third World Liberation Front, they didn't take any concrete action until we did, but immediately after that press conference they responded. And I think that the thinking of our people was that we were fighting a common enemy and had the same kind of problems and so forth, so it was something that they related to

and they wanted to support in the common interest.

I think if anybody is to be criticized for having the ulterior motive for support for their own problems, it would be the oil workers and not the students, because we were in a real serious situation and we really had a battle with the membership in bringing them around to the problem and getting them



who is unilaterally opposed to the local union and bring them in and give them a chance to speak to the local membership—you just don't do things like that. Someone comes in like that to your local union, you throw him out. (NLN: Right on!) So, because this was a controversial issue, we said "OK", if you can get some of them to come to the meeting, go ahead! None of them showed up.

### Attitudes Change

NLN: Did you notice a change in the feelings of the members as the discussions wore on and with the experience of the mutual aid of students on the picket line....

JJ: Well, certainly at the beginning of the strike, outside of a few people who had come into contact with the student movement before, most of our people are just average run-of-the-mill workers, subjected to all the influences the average worker is—they read the newspaper and they get the same bad impressions and so forth that the general public gets of the student question. And certainly in our own fight and in the problems we had with police brutality and newspaper coverage and so forth, this opened up a lot of minds.

There was a tremendous change of attitude. Where prior to the strike most of our people, if you talked to them, started telling them about police brutality, they would have said, "that's a lot of malarkey, they don't do things like that." But they saw it first hand, you know, and then of course they continued to read the newspapers during the strike and a lot of these people participated in events covered by the newspapers and could see the distortions and the downright lies that were in the impressions that were conveyed to the general public in the media concerning the criminal oil workers. So when people come into contact with these things it has to have an effect. They begin to look around and say: These students have got some legitimate problems—maybe the media is giving them the same kind of coverage they're giving us. And maybe these charges of police brutality and so forth do have some



let's tear down these barriers, wipe out this mistrust, and get together 'cause we've got common problems. You may be discriminated against to a higher degree than us, but we're all discriminated against. We're all the exploited, suppressed members of the society in which we live." Where before they were fearful of getting in bad with the establishment, they're beginning to realize that that's the course they're going to have to take. Somewhere along the line they'll have to make a change in their position.

### Students' Effect

NLN: Just a question about the concreteness of the support of the students. There were six mobilizations, and on those days Standard was pretty effectively shut down, and it was especially helpful because you had the injunction quota (the number of pickets at each gate) limiting you. Is it true that the large number of students and activists who came from around the Bay Area really had an important effect in forcing Standard Oil to negotiate a contract with at least the workers at the Standard plant.

JJ: Definitely! And I think the threat of student support not only on the picket line but in a boycott action and so forth against the Standard Oil Company had a tremendous effect. The student participation on the picket line did result in a closing down of the plant.

I think that the long-range political effects and the threat of a general uprising in the city of Richmond really became a possibility when they saw these large numbers of students, including Third World people, showing up on the picket line, because they're smart enough to know that the Third World people came out of communities just like this and that these people might see that this is an opportunity to get

movement. You see a general attitude on the part of students that they have things in common with the workers, although they to a great extent had written off the possibility of ever developing any real relationship with the workers. I think that they saw this as an opportunity to develop this.

NLN: Right. We saw this as one of the most important things. That's why we wanted people all over the country to know about the experience and try and develop similar relationships.

JJ: I think that the relationship and what we've done here at Richmond and at San Francisco with the students and the Third World people and the workers here, however small-scale that it might have been, was the greatest achievement of the strikes on the campuses and the oil workers' strike. And I think that it can provide the basis and the guidelines for the future. It's going to take a lot of work in the labor movement and among minority groups and so forth to extend this, but I think it certainly pointed out the necessity of working people, minority groups and student groups and so forth who have things in common to get together in long-range political programs. It's become damned apparent that labor with its apathy and the way it has run away from the real tradition—from the fighting traditions that were there in the beginning—isn't at this point exercising the political influence in this country, and isn't involved in a strong, forward-moving, progressive political movement. It's also apparent that the students and the minority groups themselves aren't going to win a battle against the whole damn establishment. But with a combination of those forces the chances of success you know in a progressive political movement combining all these forces becomes not too far-fetched and has real possibilities.

# About Privilege

by Clayton Van Lydegraf

We live as constituent parts of a social system which has been mass-producing all kinds of filth and garbage for generations. Rigorous cleansing is banned, for that would cost all the most profitable action. It is not surprising that even as we discover that revolution is the only basic solution, we also find that we are still carriers of the festering and lingering stench which permeates everything connected with imperialism and slavemaking.

A few quick showers do not wash away contamination ground in by years spent as willing or unwilling flunkies to rulers of a monster system. The movement is beginning to understand this. It is organizing programs to fight against white supremacy and to support black liberation. It is rejecting the false claim that anti-imperialist struggle and anti-colonial war are "reactionary nationalism."

Nevertheless, it is not easy to break clean away from the old patterns. There is still a clinging to the idea that white responsibility can be strictly limited to the psychological and cultural level so far as ordinary people are concerned. There is a direct denial that white workers share in any way in the evil luxuriance deriving from the ownership and usage of slaves, past or present.

In New Left Notes of March 20, 1969, almost half of one proposal is used to promote this idea (May Day proposal, page 10). This was not accepted at the recent Austin meeting of SDS, but it remains as an important body of opinion which needs to be answered. Another example of the same kind is found in a series in the Guardian of April 5,

at home and abroad; all economic activity of the U.S. rests upon this foundation and proceeds both directly and indirectly at the expense of oppressed peoples.

Some white workers actively oppose this, but most tolerate it and many support the system, or it could not continue. Marx wrote: "Wage labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers."

These facts are clear as daylight to blacks and to most of the world. Only among whites in imperialist nations (and puppets elsewhere) is there muddled talk about "privilege" which comes from heaven, but not at the expense of the oppressed.

This mechanical finding that the worker is exploited and therefore he does not and cannot share in the exploitation of another is not new. It is a survival of a distortion of Marx' scientific discovery of the source of surplus value, and hence of profit.

According to this popular fable, the worker produces something like a pie. He gets only a piece of it in wages, so he cannot buy it all back—therefore there are crises. The boss gets a big cut—for nothing—and that is exploitation. The worker should keep it all.

Now "May Day" and so forth hold that the white (male) workers have their own pie, the blacks have theirs also, and so long as the white worker eats less than the entire pie which he has

defeated the system long ago. Failure to see this contradiction and opposition is partly due to romantic ideas about political struggle arising spontaneously from economic exploitation, but it is also due to our being subject to establishment-channeled thought control.

The present scabby condition and impotence of the official labor movement in the U.S. is primarily due to white and national chauvinism based upon the ability of the imperialists and their purchased helpers to manipulate white workers and unions by playing upon craft and sectional immediate selfish gains in disregard of others and contrary to the fundamental class interests of the workers.

This contradiction exists and must be fought out—not falsified by presenting the worker as either a pure fighting man free from any taint of opportunism or to the contrary as nothing but a complete and utterly hopeless sell-out.

In order to get at the real situation, we must view the pie not as the product of one worker, or one part of the class, but as the entire national product. This is what Marx did in Value, Price and Profit when he replied to John Weston's arguments about an Iron Law of Wages using Weston's own example of a bowl of soup. Since that argument, while related, is addressed to another problem and monopoly and modern imperialism now exist, some things have to be kept in mind.

One is that, contrary to the old socialists, the workers cannot consume

the power of the white worker. Imperialism is not in any way in the interest of the white worker."

By not distinguishing fundamental class interest from selfish advantage, the entire relationship is falsified, leaving the white worker not at all innocent, but either anti-social or the prize boob of all time. All this follows from the blindness expressed in the phrase, "...Without even considering the super-profits..." But this is what it is all about.

Super-profits from abroad are integrated into the total national pie owned by capital and from which all wages are paid. The biggest corporations take the maximum profits from super-exploitation; skin color is not posted in the books, all appears as pure gold. The U.S. white workers employed in these monster-sized sub-empires are the most organized and their wages and conditions are relatively the best. Not ideal or necessarily even good, relatively the best.

## Surplus Value

It is self-serving and artificial to invent a separate stock of pure-bred white male surplus value from which alone white males derive their wages and conditions and privilege, without having their class purity put in question by their sharing crumbs of imperialist loot originating in the special preserves of super-exploitation, especially the colonial.

Monopoly extracts much of this super and maximum profit by selling things above their value and buying below value. This is one of its universal practices. Every Cadillac contains not only the sweat of the auto workers, it has ingredients like 20 years



From the "May Day" piece: "... There is of course a material basis for the white-skin privilege and national chauvinism; for instance, white workers are given access to jobs black and brown workers don't have and on the whole make more. But they don't make it off the wealth that black and brown workers produce, they just get a somewhat larger share of the wealth THEY produce" (emphasis in original).

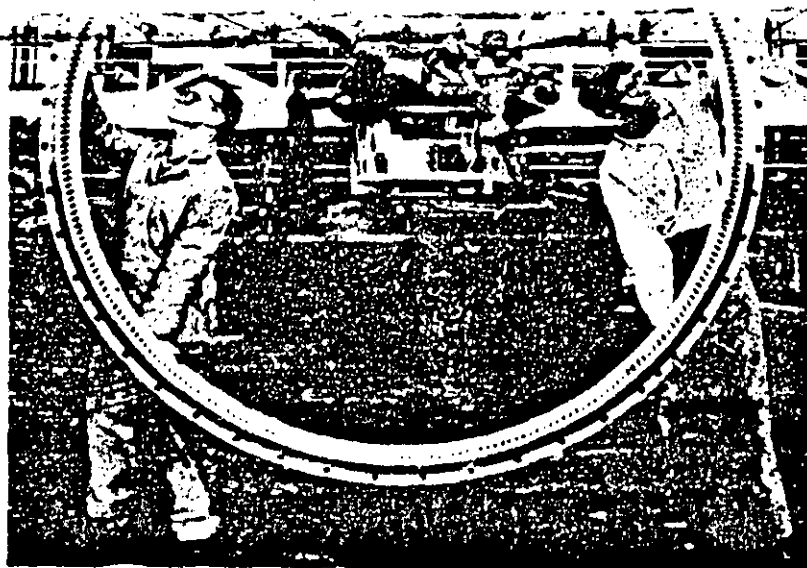
From "Equality for Working Women": "...The practice of male supremacy provides few material gains for the male working class...that is, the white male worker does not get any higher wages because women and blacks get less.

...he has to fight harder for what he gets, since management can threaten to hire lower paid women and blacks." Later the contrary is stated: "...women reduce the costs of providing care to the work force through their unpaid jobs as housewives. They also lessen workers' frustration and alienation."

The logic of the above argumentation is to "freely" exonerate white workers, males in particular, clearly serving one or both of two possible aims. One would be to exonerate students and women and others by simple extension of coverage. The second would be to make it easier for white male workers to shed their white and male supremacy and chauvinism by convincing them they are fully giving up anything—these are "insignificant" privileges. Well—the hell they are.

But aside from that—the result is to mystify the problem. The target becomes that which is in male white workers' heads (and such junk is really there) but now divorced from their actual situation. A collective head-shrinking process becomes the indicated prescription rather than more intense ideological and practical class struggle.

In fact, white workers (the male first, but also the female and the young to an important degree) possess immediate selfish advantage automatically accorded to white persons. This advantage exists as an indispensable prop of the



Assembly line in Michigan

produced, he is surely innocent of filching bites from the black worker's pie. But if the white worker started with apples and the black one with huckleberries, the thing would become quite clear.

And, in fact, it is quite clear when the black man or woman cleans the airport latrine and the white man flies the airliner. That pilot has bloody pie on his face—whether he wants to think about it or not. But all this is slurred over by a polished image and tokenism. It is necessary to dig into the contradictions of political economy more deeply to understand why that which seems to be mutually exclusive can be united in the same "simple" case of exploitation.

In reality, the worker owns no share at all of this "pie" which he has produced. What he gets is wages which are advanced as part of capital. He has nothing to do with ownership of the product. The worker sells labor power, that is he sells himself an hour or a day at a time. If his union bosses and his ownership bosses con him into petty deals at the expense of competing black and female labor power as to the terms of the sale, this is no less a fact just because it is contrary to his own fundamental class and long-run interests.

the entire pie under any circumstances. It contains slices to replace the capital expended on wages, and a big chunk is taken by the bosses, but there are things like "dead" unproductive expenses of both production and circulation, government, provision for those unable to work, research, education, expansion of production, and so on. Many of these will continue under all forms and stages of collective society.

But the main point is that not only white and black, male and female, old and young, pick apples and bake pie, but colonized workers, here and abroad, built the oven and supplied flour, sugar, pie tin, etc.

If the white share is a tenth and the black worker gets about half what the white does, then you have to get a microscope to see the portion of the Brazilian peasant and worker, or the Arabian, although their involuntary contributions are the most costly in misery and blood.

The "May Day" article passes this by: "Without even considering the super-profits made from foreign investments and the exploitation of colonized labor—the truth is that WHITE WORKERS (my emphasis, cvl) make only a miserable fraction of the wealth they produce. The imperialist

General Motors' maximum profits solely or mainly to surplus value created by U.S. workers; maybe half of that toll originates thousands of miles away!

Consequently, if white and black workers, male and female, old and young, here were to unite merely to improve their own shares, and failed to fight to do away with imperialist oppression of colored people abroad—this would not be a victory, it would be a crime.

It is difficult for white persons to understand this as it really is, for it clearly calls for some sacrifice of selfish habits, not merely for pure thoughts. Consequently, it helps to start with the point that the world is becoming less and less safe for imperialism and all its helpers and mercenaries.

Serious revolutionaries, and there are beginning to be serious ones who are white, have to scrub away at the old system stink. The exploiters and oppressors have been using our minds as an outhouse for ages. We need to analyze this and work out the contradictions to know what we have to do. Mao Tse-tung stated it this way:

"...dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly....Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing. The proverb 'running water is never stale and a door-hinge is never worm-eaten' means that constant motion prevents the inroads of germs and other organisms....fear neither criticism nor self-criticism...and... 'say all you know and say it without reserve'" (page 259, Quotations, "Little Red Book").

Other references on the above subject: V. I. Lenin, Imperialism, pp. 106-107 and section 3 of the preface to the French and German edition. (Int. Pub. 1939); "Left Wing" Communism, section 6, page 34 to end of part (Int. 1940); and the article on Karl Marx, from vol XI selected works, pp. 38-39, (Int. 1943) and WEB DuBois, "The World and Africa" (Int. 1967). The present writer has a longer piece on the subject

# Toward an understanding of dialectical materialism

## A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE "SCHOOLS" RESOLUTION (First in a two-part series)

by David Burak  
Ithaca-Cornell SDS

The resolution entitled "The Schools Must Serve the People," written by Les Coleman and others, is recognized as subject to debate by virtually all who thought about it. The fact that at the Austin NC was so evenly divided (95-92), with many abstentions, emphasizes the importance of further cooperation and criticism in NLN during the coming weeks. This article will try to substantiate an argument which is in fundamental opposition to the bulk of the 10-point program put forth.

The resolution correctly recognizes (in the 2nd paragraph among other places) that "the function of the educational system cannot really be changed and the system made to serve the people, until the whole power of the capitalist class is challenged and destroyed." This valid theoretical observation is then followed, a sentence later, by a basically false tactical-strategical declaration—i.e., "our goal to win these demands is only one of the whole class struggle unfolding in this country and throughout the world and must contribute to the fight to end the monster and the state power which maintains all its aspects of class and colonial domination."

In examining this last sentence let us first note the nationalistic error which pervades much of the thinking of the American left, the error of differentiating, either explicitly, or, as in the case of the "Schools" resolution, implicitly, between "the whole class struggle unfolding in this country and throughout the world." To make this differentiation, even implicitly, is a demonstration of the failure to understand dialectical materialism and

vanguard struggles against imperialism—these are the struggles for the right of self-determination presently being waged by the black, brown and yellow peoples, who comprise the vast majority of the international proletariat. It is only when significant numbers of these struggles are in progress that objective conditions within this country will be conducive to a successful revolution. This can best be understood by recalling Marx's declaration that only after Ireland achieved independence from England could the proletariat within Britain successfully seize state power (Lenin, The Teachings of Karl Marx, p. 50).

Turning directly to the "Schools" resolution, we find that points 1-4, 6, 9, and parts of the Panthers' 10-pt. program fail to understand this tactical consideration. Let us examine each of them. Pt. 1 demands an end to the tracking system in the schools. Implicit in this demand is the notion that if the tracking system were eliminated, the devastating effect of the racist, anti-working class teachers would be mitigated, if not totally counteracted. This is clearly false, as it is primarily the racist and imperialist textbooks which are the most counterrevolutionary and vicious elements in the school system. Thus, it is their power which must be attacked and destroyed. And it must be stressed that until this power is destroyed no constructive structure or content-related reforms can have a lasting progressive effect, unless they deal directly with the redistribution of power (as the "community control"—self-determination—struggles do in the black colony).

The educational system in America is the most effective brain-washing machinery developed by any ruling class

the education in a system set up by the ruling class can be brought about in a way which will provide a significant threat to the power of that class. Furthermore, tactically speaking, were we to begin to struggle for those types of courses now, we would be ignoring a dialectical dynamic which requires revolutionaries to destroy before rebuilding.

We cannot build a socialist educational system inside a structure which is controlled by imperialists. Efforts to do so are very vulnerable to takeovers by revisionists more interested in deals with the bourgeois administrators—to protect our "socialist" gains—rather than in the intensification of the struggle to destroy imperialism. This struggle must be waged in spite of the great sacrifices which it will, of necessity, entail.

None of the above should be construed as suggesting that if we are teachers in primary or secondary schools we should not continually provide revolutionary perspectives on the materials we teach. Quite the contrary is true. However, it should always be understood that until the bourgeois state is smashed, teachers willing and able to provide the revolutionary perspective will be a tiny minority amidst a veritable sea of racist counter-revolutionaries.

### Teacher Crucial

On a similar note, criticisms of the "socialist education" approach of demand #3 in the Schools proposal (and demand #9, which is in the same vein) should not be construed as being in opposition to attempts by student REVOLUTIONARIES to set up credit-granting courses which will be useful in building a revolutionary-communist movement. But it is crucial to stress that the decision of WHO TEACHES

movement. The answer is yes, and this writer believes that the most correct demand is for the end of compulsory education. This demand, which can be won, is among the most meaningful steps toward achieving the self-determination of Third World people in America's internal colonies.

The demand is also much more organically related to the development of a revolutionary youth movement, in that it addresses itself much more to the felt (and correct) needs of the youth in schools, who want, more than just about anything else, to get the fuck out, because they know that they are being brainwashed, lied to, and oppressed as hell in the schools. SDS should understand that addressing itself to an end to "the regimentation—the school behavior rules, the dress codes,

the cut system—" is to address itself to the manifestations of the basic form of regimentation—i.e., the fact that bourgeois law compels the youth to be in the schools. If the law did not do this, the vast majority of youth would not go to school, and alternative educational structures controlled by revolutionaries could become immensely effective.

The Panthers are developing "liberation schools" (see, for example, The Black Panther, 3/23/69, p. 6) and it is clear that the effect of such schools could be greatly enhanced if the youth did not have to suffer the lies and oppression of the bourgeois education for eight hours a day before going to the liberation schools. (At this point it is necessary to note that the liberation school experience at Columbia does not apply to grades 1-12, and especially to colonized peoples in these grades.)

Also, the demand to end compulsory education does not conflict with the demand for community control, but

combat any tendency which might be used, consciously or unconsciously, to misdirect our present struggle—by failing to perceive the unity of the Third World struggles against imperialism and the development of an internal revolutionary movement which can destroy the monster bourgeois state and all its vestiges.

## Raising Consciousness

Whatever one's response to the last paragraph may be, let us move into a consideration of this article's conception of what the most correct struggles should be in this particular historical period. To begin, one must emphasize the fact that, as Lenin notes, imperialism is "the highest stage of capitalism." This highest stage, as Marx, Lenin, and Engels all agree, makes it possible for the bourgeoisie to divert many workers from revolutionary struggle (see Lenin, *The Teachings of Karl Marx*, p. 39) and tends to lead to "a bourgeois proletariat side by side with the bourgeoisie" (*ibid.*, p. 40). This is possible mainly because the imperialist super-profits from the vicious exploitation of black, brown and yellow people in the Third World allows the ruling class to buy off significant segments of its internal working class, and to encourage opportunism amongst the proletariat through this means (Lenin, *Imperialism*, p. 102).

Therefore, revolutionary communists should understand that the most important struggle in this particular historical period should involve the raising of anti-imperialist, anti-racist consciousness while trying to cut off segments of the imperialists' super-profits. This latter aspect is important in that it can significantly hurt the imperialists' ability to buy off and lie to segments of the working class within the US. Recognizing that it is objective material conditions which are most necessary to make a revolution possible, and not simply individuals or an organization with correct ideas, Marxist-Leninists should seek to develop a set of tactics which most

bourgeois values and people of every class will be diminished in any meaningful way by ending the tracking system. The most likely effect of that demand would be an "improvement in the quality" of brainwashing which black and working class kids are presently receiving, so that they can become more oppressing than oppressed.

Defenders of the demand to end the tracking system may argue that if demand #5—for socialist courses—is realized, then an end to the tracking system takes on much more meaning. To deal with that argument, one must re-emphasize the importance with which the ruling class regards its brainwashing machinery. This high regard is profoundly misunderstood if one feels that major changes in the content of

courses should not become the prime emphasis of any chapter's activities. For example, although there may be a struggle at Cornell over the SDS-forwarded demand that the University fund a student-administered course on Cuba and China (tentatively to be taught by Edward Boorstin and William Hinton), this struggle will not be allowed, in tactical terms, to take priority over anti-imperialist struggles directed against Chase Manhattan recruiters or ROTC.

At this juncture, it might be asked, relative to grades 1-12 of the "education" system, if there are any correct reform demands—i.e., for reforms which lead to the creation of objective conditions more conducive to the building of a fighting revolutionary

education, then the youth will attend as they recognize the need for REAL education. On the other side of the coin if the community-controlled schools fall into the hands of the black bourgeoisie then the vast majority of youth will not attend, being more capable than most adults raised in this country of recognizing liars as liars, whatever their color.

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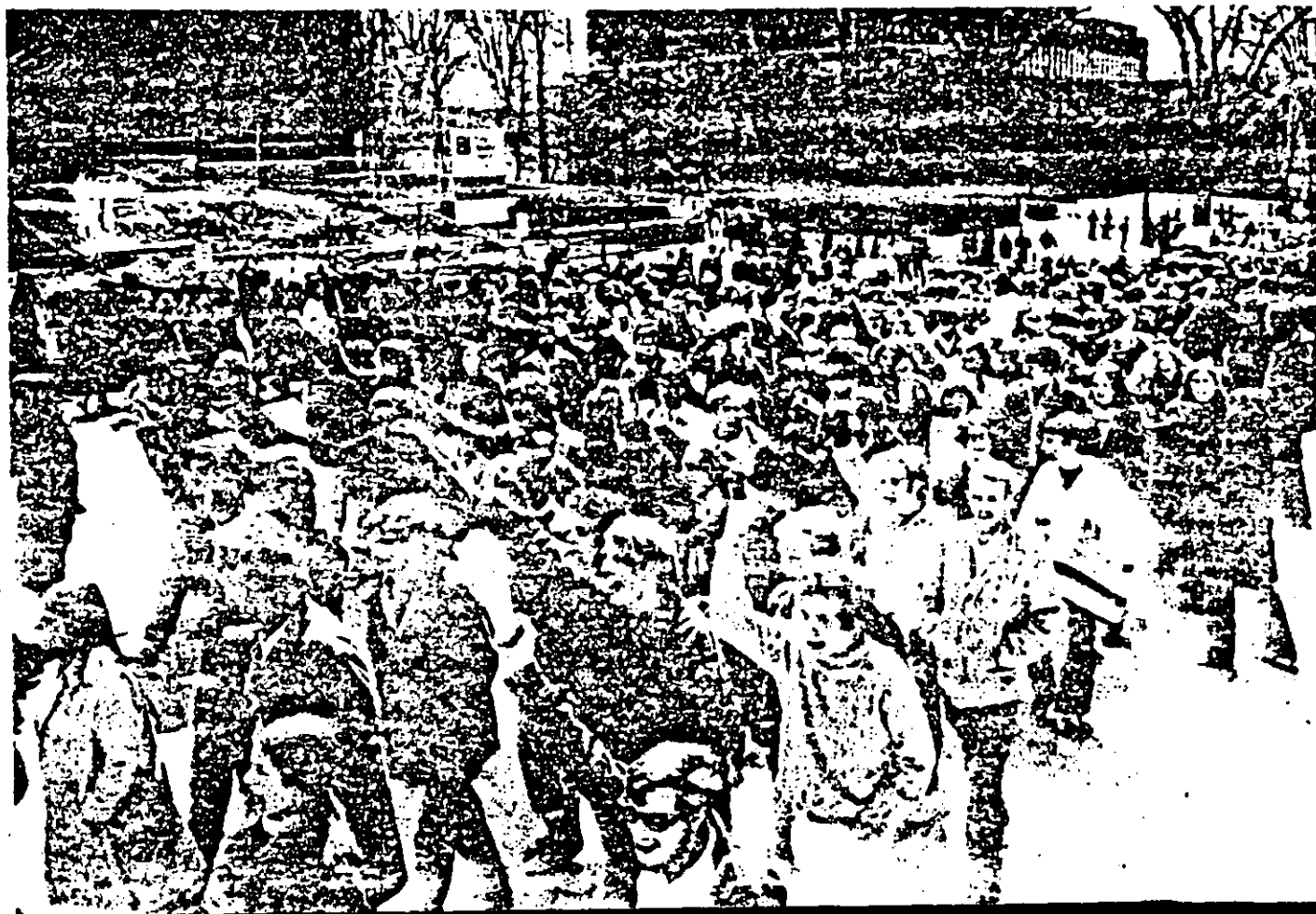
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# SSOC

(continued from Page 3)

radical and otherwise...but rather, building a radical force which raises issues for other constituencies—young people, workers, others—which will eventually be picked up to create a broader, more solid revolutionary movement."

This view of the youth movement as a critical force, raising issues in the interest of the whole working class, has also been the basis of SDS's "Revolutionary Youth Movement" position passed at the December NC, based on the knowledge that the working class is the primary agent of revolutionary change.

Again, the position that only Southerners can organize in the South guarantees that this "alien ideology" of Socialism is kept out of Southern schools. All revolutionaries should be encouraged to organize in the South and all liberal "student-power" politicians should be thrown into the Mississippi with the Confederate flag and a Stephen Foster song book in each pocket.

## Anti-Communism

Another response to the NC resolution has been the cry of "PL manipulation" since the presenter of the resolution was a PL member.

In the April issue of KUDZU, A SSOC - controlled underground newspaper in Mississippi, Editor Dave Dogget goes through page after page of red-baiting anti-Communism, even going so far as to accuse SSOC staff member Lynn Wells of being in the WSA caucus after she criticized herself and SSOC. This kind of anti-Communism always seems to follow foundation money around the world.

Aside from PL-baiting, SSOC anti-Communism hit me everywhere I

it was blatant attacks on Communists "who have taken over SDS." Many of the SSOC staffers who have agreed with SDS's position are now being attacked for bringing factionalism into the South or trying to build a caucus and take power (an old Communist tradition).

Again of course, SDS and the movement as a whole have long been plagued by anti-Communism. Randu Furst, in his GUARDIAN article on the NC (April 5) calls the resolution a PL-introduced resolution even though most of the signers were not in PL, and many, in fact, in disagreement with WSA politics.

## Structure

In the March 1969 issue of The Fuse, (a SSOC-controlled Alabama underground newspaper), on the back page, an Alabama SSOC staffer writes:

"The Alabama office of the Southern Student Organizing Committee is here to serve you, if you are doing anything to help people gain control over their own lives. We have access to films, speakers, literature, and sundry equipment to aid you in your local organizing.... Ala. SSOC has taken over publication of The Fuse from AACD. The same people are doing the work but the money is coming from a different bank account. AACD is broke and SSOC still has a few dollars."

This is an example of the SSOC approach to local chapters, heavy on the money, light on the politics. SSOC sees itself as a "staff organization." The staff is hired or fired by the executive committee which in turn is chosen by the staff. What about the membership? you may ask. Well that's just tough shit because SSOC doesn't see any need to serve the people in any real way. SSOC's structure is elitist in form and content the way that CIA-funded organizations always are. This guarantees that the "leadership" doesn't have to be responsible to the people. Like the CIA, Alinsky, Ford and all the other fat cats trying to control

speakers, etc.).

If you ask certain SSOC staffers about the fact that leadership is not accessible to the membership or that the organization takes no official political positions, they will tell you something like "we're trying to build a community," and "factionalism will just divide us." That's the trouble with us yankees (read "revolutionaries"). We're always trying to divide things into two sides.

So, once again, it seems as though the Man isn't stupid after all. He usually gets what he pays for. After all, that's how he got rich in the first place. He doesn't even care if the people he uses think that they are using him.

Let's see what he is getting for his money: Student power, liberalism, anti-Communism, oppressor-nation nationalism, SDS-baiting and a closed organizational structure to perpetuate all of these.

SDS people should not approach this problem from an organizational-chauvinist position. We must see ourselves as revolutionaries first and

SDS members second. Many of these problems, so blatant within SSOC, exist to a lesser degree within SDS or have their roots in SDS. However, we must see the necessity to break fraternal relations with SSOC for exactly these reasons. Liberalism, anti-Communism, and white supremacy, like any other diseases, must be attacked hardest by those most susceptible to them.

We must no longer guarantee "territorial integrity" to this organization. (SDS had given SSOC "territorial rights" in the South years ago, agreeing not to organize there.) Does this mean that SDS is trying to take SSOC over or control the movement in the South or hand down a line to Southerners? No. What it does mean is that SDS is part of an international struggle against imperialism and racism, trying to build a revolution in the heart of the beast, of which the South is a part. We call upon everyone in the South to take part in that struggle and make SDS an organization which fights for the needs of all the people.

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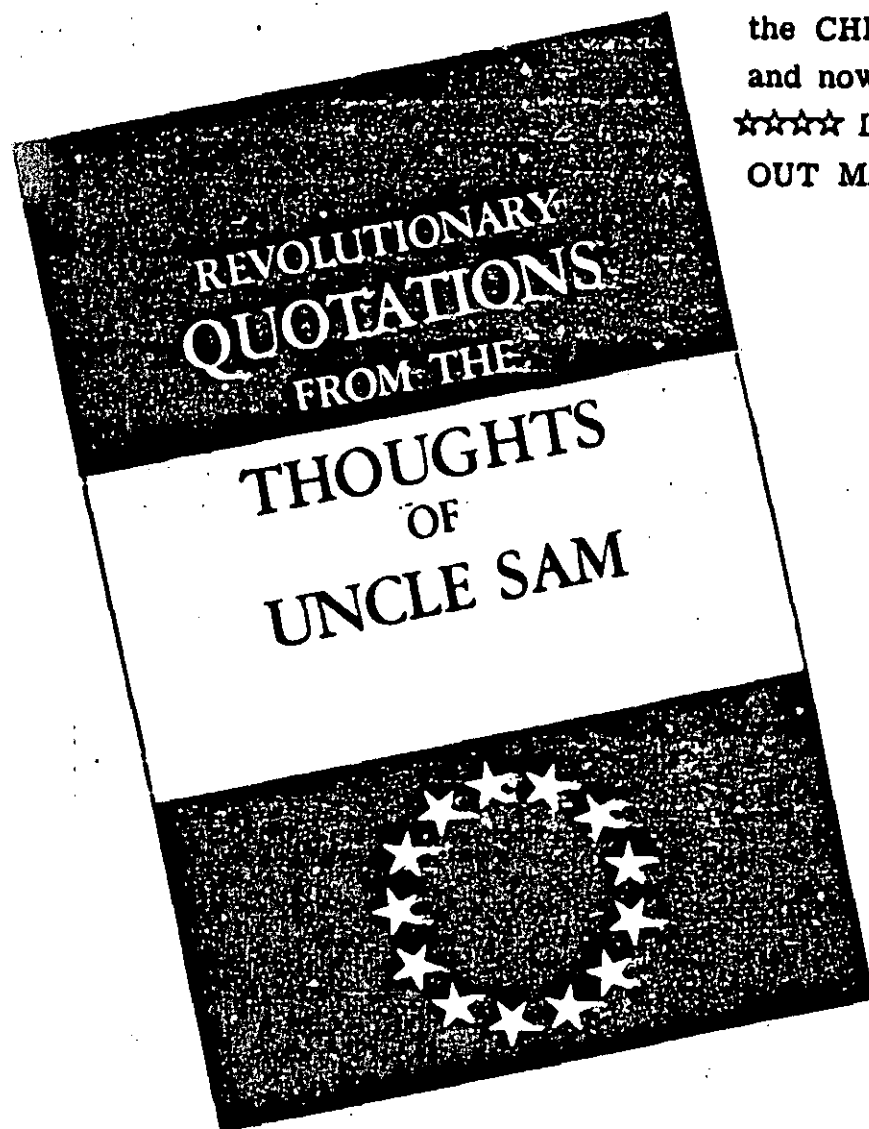
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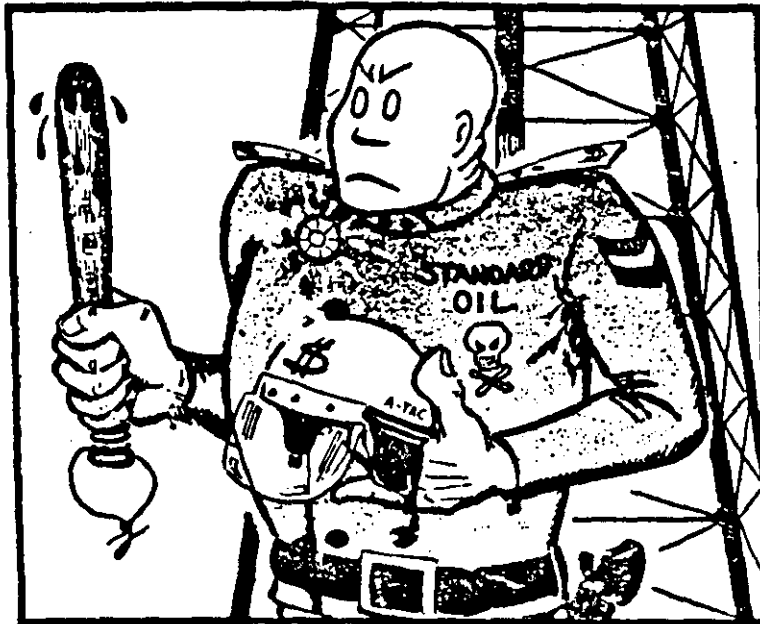
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# BOYCOTT STANDARD OIL!

The following is an interview conducted by Jeff Jones, SDS NIC member, with Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of Local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union. As part of a nation-wide walk-out against the oil industry, the local struck the Standard Oil refinery in Richmond, Calif., demanding a wage hike and increased retirement and medical benefits. Hundreds of students supported the strike by manning the picket lines, fighting company goon squads, and building community support, and at the same time talked to the workers about their own struggles against imperialism and racism at San Francisco State, Berkeley, and Oakland. Several times they force the company to cut back plant operation and close up the plant gates. Jake Jacobs proposed a "mutual aid pact" between the oil workers and the striking students, and after long debate the local voted 2 to 1 to back both the student and AFT strikes at S. F. State.

The strike nationally has been settled, but there is still no agreement at the Chevron Chemical plant in Richmond (Chevron is a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil and has the only union shop in the Richmond refinery complex). Under pressure from the company and the international union, the workers at Chevron were forced to go back to work without a contract. The local called for a national boycott against all Standard Oil products, but the international union threatened to dissolve the local and forced it to change its call (officially at least) to a boycott of Chevron products only. SDS, however, in keeping with

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BIG DADDY OILBUCKS

ALIAS: STANDARD OIL; CHEVRON; ORTHO; FOREMOST,  
AND MANY MORE ALIASES USED BY THE SAME CULPRIT.



DECENT PEOPLE EVERYWHERE SHOULD HOLD  
STANDARD OIL ACCOUNTABLE FOR:

At San Jose State, for example, the Standard Oil recruiters were thrown off the campus and prevented from holding any interviews. Actions against Standard should be seen as concrete support of a continuing labor struggle in Richmond led by a local which has openly expressed its support for the students fighting racism at S. F. State.

NLN: We understand that the International Confederation of Petroleum Workers has refused to sanction the boycott of Standard Oil products. Could you tell us a little about why this has happened and what effect this has had on the plans of the local?

JJ: As to why it happened, that's a pretty deep subject. It goes back to the role that was played by the International throughout the strike. Basically the reasons given by the International for calling it off because of possible legal ramifications. However, this position of the International union is in direct conflict with advice of our own local legal advisors. The effect that it had on the striking Chevron Chemical workers was one more or less of demoralization because they were depending on the boycott of the entire Standard Oil establishment in the final analysis to win a victory and save the union shop.

Throughout the strike action it was fully realized by the local leadership, and this thinking was conveyed to the International, that Chevron Chemical would be the last battleground. And that it would be necessary to throw every force at our disposal into the fight, including the boycott of the entire Standard Oil Company of California. And it was the measured opinion of the local union leadership, as well as the strikers, that unless we were able to do that we would probably suffer a defeat. The effect that we had right now is that it has left the people who went back to work at Chevron Chemical without a contract, and we have decided to fight the company with whatever tools we have at our disposal.

There will be a boycott; however the local union's participation will be limited to a boycott of Chevron Chemical products, which we know probably isn't going to be too effective and probably isn't going to make too much effect on the decision of the company concerning the union shop. In the final analysis, we know that their whole strategy has been to isolate the Chevron chemical unit apart from the Standard Oil situation in order to avoid a boycott of the entire Standard Oil Company of California. This says to us that they are willing to take a boycott of Chevron Chemical products. In other words, they're willing to expend the finances and take the loss that might occur there in order to defeat the union. So, right at this point as I said, the people are kind of in a state

- THEFT OF PUBLIC FUNDS; — OIL DEPLETION ALLOWANCES, ETC.
- MONOPOLY CONTROL OVER PEOPLE, GOVERNMENTS, & NEWS MEDIA
- DESECRATION OF OUR SEAS; ATMOSPHERE; & BEACHES
- MANUFACTURE FOR PROFIT OF WARFARE PRODUCTS THAT BRING DESTRUCTION, & DEATH TO INNOCENT PEOPLE

NLN: Did any members of the union lose their jobs as a result of the action?

JJ: Yes, there were four people who were discharged for alleged unlawful conduct on the picket line (at the Chevron plant—ed.). Of course, this was one of the leadership's considerations in their desire to continue the strike and initiate the boycott, because we felt that it was important that the union stand up behind the people that fought during the strike. That was one thing we were able to accomplish in the Standard Oil unit. Four or five people had been fired over there and we were able to get them returned to work. So that's an important factor right now, we are taking care of those people, maintaining their strike benefits with \$50 a week.

NLN: So you get help from the International on that?

JJ: The strike benefits from the International amount to about \$15 a week and at this point we're making up the difference. Our overall program over there right now depends upon if we can solidify the people and get them behind a concrete program and carry the fight on. The overall objective of the thing, naturally, is to turn the company back on its demands for an end to the union shop. The leadership's attitude is that we will work without a contract indefinitely, and use whatever methods we can find to fight against the company: the Chevron Chemical boycott; possibly in-plant action; stopping work meetings; anything we can do to harass the company. We don't have a contract, we could walk out at any time.

NLN: Do you think there would be a possibility of sufficient pressure put on the company by community, student, and other labor support to win the union shop back?

JJ: The local is in kind of an awkward position concerning the continuation of the boycott of Standard Oil Company. It's hard to say to other groups, "Will you continue a boycott of the Standard Oil Chemical Company, and continue action against them in our behalf, even though we can't participate in it?", so at this point we make it clear that everyone knows that our hands are tied, we cannot participate in such an action. But we do feel that any actions, public education programs and boycott activities that can get initiated by other groups against the Standard

In other words, everything we get going against them is going to help.

NLN: We'd like to go back to the beginning of the strike. When it first began did you have any idea that the relationship would develop between the TWLF and the striking students and the strike?

JJ: To begin with, I personally had had ideas along these lines for quite some time. The strike here, when we went on strike January 6, wasn't the first time that we've had a relationship with the students. We had come in contact with them before in other strike actions where they assisted us, and we'd develop some kind of relationship, though it didn't go nearly as deep as it is now.

For quite a period of time, we have thought about alliances of this sort, not only with students, but with other minority groups, oppressed groups who have things in common, but at this point are practicing a degree of separatism and mistrust of each other and so forth, so when the strike began here it wasn't really a new idea. But the strike certainly presented an opportunity to get something going.

Of course we had the problem with our membership and even our leadership; it was a very controversial issue, but the strike and the necessity of outside support certainly was a critical factor in making our people receptive to the point where they would take an honest look at the students' problems. So for the first few weeks of the strike we were, you might say, unofficially, we didn't request the student support, but certainly unofficially we let them know that we would appreciate their support, and felt that we needed it.

As they began to come out on the picket line and support us, then we had an association between strikers and students that made our people more receptive to opening up minds to the idea. And then it finally reached a point where I became convinced that, well, we can't go on asking other people for their support and taking a position of "We accept your support and we welcome your support, but we don't want to do anything in return. We don't want to take any official position because of fear of reprisals from the establishment." You just can't, it isn't right, you just don't do those sort of things.

It meant that somewhere along the line we were going to have to take an official position in support

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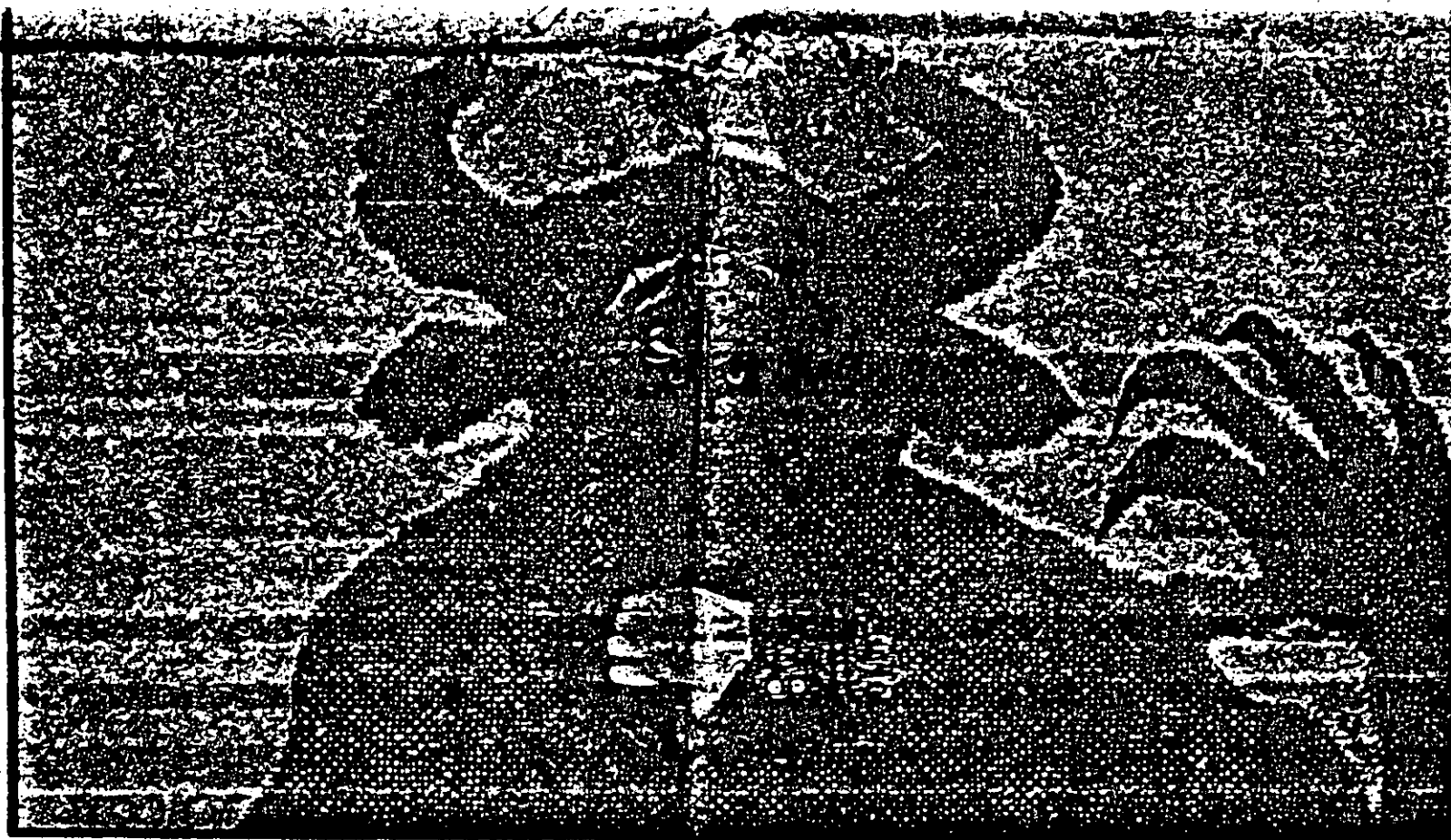
# *.Gullman*

independent  
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Drawing from Radical America



**Columbia • Panthers • Harvard • Stanford • Presidio • Witches • May Day • SDS • Wildcats • Welfare clients • NLF • Workers • Students • Women • Black liberation • Vietnam • Chicago • New York • Boston • Oakland • New Orleans • Lit**

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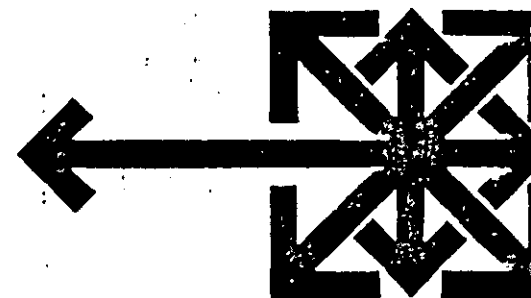
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## THE MOVEMENT



### Free Huey!

*Soledad, Calif.:* Huey P. Newton, imprisoned minister of defense of the Black Panther party, comes up for a bail hearing May 1. Federal Judge Alfonso J. Zirpoli has said that the state must show cause why the Black Panther founder should not be given bail pending his appeal trial.

The main federal bail guidelines are whether the defendant is a menace to the community and whether he is likely to return to jail before his trial date.

The defense will argue on the grounds (and precedent) that Huey is a political prisoner. According to defense attorney Charles Garry, there is a good chance bail will be granted.

Bay Area Panthers will demonstrate in front of the courthouse May 1. According to the Panther newspaper, they will "exhaust all legal means" before taking other action.

### Student teamwork

*Long Island City, N.Y.:* High school students marched through the streets last week demanding the release of Lonnie Epps, one of the Panther 21 (see article, page 3). Epps had been organizing Black Student Unions prior to the bust.

*Kew Gardens Hills, N.Y.:* Students staged a demonstration after Jimmy Holder, a black athlete, was bounced from John Bowne High School and suspended from the track team. Students charge that Holder was suspended for his part in organizing a Black Student Union.

Although John Bowne is primarily white—only 23 of the school's 3600 students are black—a protest walkout swept through the school in support of Holder. The BSU and the (predominantly white) High School Student Union are leading the struggle. Black and white



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## Just deserts?

**New York:** In the first such indictment since World War II, James Patrick Hayes Jr., of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, has been arrested for "knowingly and unlawfully attempting and endeavoring to entice and procure Robert K. Keese Jr. . . . to desert . . ." from the U.S. military.

It seems apparent that information leading to the arrest of Hayes was obtained through the G.I. involved, Robert K. Keese, who returned from Toronto for unspecified reasons last summer.

Hayes' lawyer, Sanford Katz, says defense funds are being sought, and should be sent to the Hayes Defense Fund, Boston CNVA, PO Box 387, BU Station, Boston, Mass. 02215.

## Libs lose

**Chicago:** After six weeks of arguments and testimony, the 13 prominent liberals standing trial in Chicago for their part in demonstrations at last August's Democratic convention were found guilty of disorderly conduct and were fined.

In the final prosecution statement, the city's assistant corporation counsel insisted that the peaceful march constituted "a clear and imminent danger of substantive evil." And, he added, "police are permitted under those delicate circumstances [threat of a riot] to impinge upon the exercise of the First Amendment freedom of expression." The defendants are appealing, and the defense said that the principal issue to be raised will be "whether the police can create disorder and use the disorder which they themselves create as grounds for banning an action," and "whether the city can use racist grounds [threat of a riot] as reasonable grounds for stopping a march."

## Changes

Acting general manager William Rose and four other staffers Elizabeth Fink, Peter Henig, Leonard Liggio and Robert Dudnick resigned from the Guardian April 16. The action was precipitated by the staff firing of John Duffett and by the concern of the majority of the staff that workers' control had been sacrificed with the institution of undemocratic managerial decision-making in the business department. Duffett had been temporarily added to the business department as a consultant in February.

Bill Rose joined the Guardian in August 1967. During his tenure, he served as news editor, foreign editor and as acting general manager. The staff asked him to stay on. Following the departure, staffers agreed to build a revolutionary collective and drop all job titles.

students "were really brothers and sisters," said demonstrator. Students are also pressing for power of rule-making, an end to suspensions and amnesty for demonstrators. There is talk of a boycott and further protests.

## Abortion: political issue

**Olympia, Wash.:** More than 2000 women demonstrated at the Washington State legislature for a bill to legalize abortions. The bill, which was withdrawn at the last minute, survived two preliminary votes. The women had achieved a different kind of victory—recognition as political entities.

Working women and radicals and militants from an antipoverty program, socialist organizations and statewide liberal coalition called Abortion Action Network forced the issue into prominence as a civil rights and political question.

For more information on how the campaign will be effective, write Jill Severn, 2940 36th Ave S., Seattle, Wash. 98144.

## 'Unruly' crazies

**New York:** Eight members of the Crazies were busied April 19 as the group attempted to attend the annual awards dinner of the liberal League for Industrial Democracy. This year's award-winner was Hubert Humphrey.

The Crazies were refused entrance to the dinner by plainclothes guards—reportedly off-duty longshoremen—and were charged with forging tickets (felony) and "withholding services."

Photo by Lou Salzberg/New York Press Service



Crazies  
in  
jail.

Contributors to this week's movement report include: D. Yee, New York; Rev. John White, Boston; Art Goldberger, Berkeley, Calif.; and the Guardian Midwest Bureau. Edited by Marta Kusic.

# Class 'war' at Columbia

By Allen Young and Michael Klare

Columbia University students, turning their attack on the administration into what SDS leader Juan Gonzales called "class war," barricaded themselves inside Philosophy Hall for six hours on April 17.

The SDS-led sit-in culminated a week of activity which began April 14, when 16 members of the Student Afro-American Society occupied the admissions office to demand black control of black admissions. More than 300 people, including a score of high school students, took part in the action, which focused on the issue of Columbia's racist admissions and in neighborhood relations.

The students agreed, almost unanimously, that they would leave before midnight. They weren't here to get busted, but to confront the power and the policies of the university, to compel students to respond to the demands made earlier by black students on the campus and in neighborhood high schools, and to show militant white support for the demands.

Specifically, the occupants of the building called for: "(1) support of demands of the Student Afro-American Society for a black-controlled admissions board and interim board to enact all programs relevant to the black experience; (2) support of demands of local high school students for open admissions to Columbia College and Barnard for black, Puerto Rican and white working-class seniors from four high schools—George Washington, Brandeis, Benjamin Franklin and Haare."

Settling these demands was seen as a precondition to discussion of other issues. The students also called for the freeing of the Panther 21 [see article below] (D.A. Frank Hogan is a Columbia trustee), and demanded that the university stop its expansion into the neighborhood, abolish ROTC and stop military research and recruiting.

Columbia found a "new" tactic—the temporary court injunction—to deal with student disruptions. Such an injunction (they are used frequently against labor struggles) was issued at the request of the university. The order named as defendants: "Students for a Democratic Society, Columbia University Chapter, Lewis Cole, Stuart Gedal, Morris Grossner, Anne Hoffman, Eleanor Raskin, Robert H. Roth" and "John Doe" 100 times (anyone they choose). This means that any "illegal or forcible" actions on the Columbia campus can be called "contempt of court" and justify direct police action. The defendants named must appear in court on April 28.

The attempt to serve the injunction inside Philosophy Hall led to a furious 15-minute battle. The administration managed to penetrate the building, but the demonstrators proved their ability to defend themselves and oust the intruders.

An atmosphere of near-panic struck the majority of the demonstrators during the fracas. It was the panic partially of fear, more of confusion. While people had agreed to split if cops came, the appearance of a handful of campus guards created an ambiguous situation with no agreed-upon guidelines. The mass of

a situation. The sit-in ended with an overwhelming reaffirmation of the earlier vote to leave.

SDSers left less because of the injunction than for tactical reasons: SDS planned to build over the next few days and to take new militant action in conjunction with a planned march on the campus by high school students demanding open admissions. In arguing against those who wanted to prolong the Philosophy Hall sit-in, Juan Gonzales said, "We must combat student chauvinism; blacks will lead this struggle."

A brief rally was held, attended by some 1500 onlookers—a crowd bigger than those at the height of last year's Columbia rebellion, which started on April 22.

Politically, the action reflected recent resolutions approved by the SDS national council meeting in Austin, Tex., in March. SDS members—Robbie Roth, Tom Hurwitz, Juan Gonzales and Karen Ashley—spoke of the need for students to combat "white skin privilege" by supporting the black demands.

Columbia's black students, while indicating they "dug" the sit-in, did not join it, preferring to adopt their own timetable and tactics, and to move under their own leadership.

## Where did it come from?

The current wave of activity at Columbia is the culmination of programs launched earlier in the year by SDS and SAS. On Feb. 27, SAS made public its proposal for an autonomous Black Cultural Institute, to be administered by a board of students, faculty and representatives of the black movement. On the same day, SDS staged short sit-ins at the placement office and at the college administration office to dramatize its "spring offensive" against Naval ROTC, war research, military recruiting and the university's expansion policies.

SDS moved again on March 25 when it called for a one-day strike in support of its original six demands against militarism and expansion, and in support of the SAS proposal for a black institute. At first, SDS gave equal emphasis to the antimilitary and antiracist demands, but at the time of the strike began to concentrate on the race issue and to stress the necessity of black leadership in the struggle against racism.

By the beginning of April, SDS had added a new dimension to the Columbia struggle by its efforts to link up with militant students at nearby high schools. Arguing that Columbia did not meet the needs of community youth—black, Latin and white working-class—who were given a rotten education and then shipped off to Vietnam, SDS now demanded that the university admit any graduate of four Manhattan high schools.

Through this new demand, and the argument that Columbia is an elite institution designed to perpetuate the present class structure of American society, SDS sought to merge its antiwar, anticapitalist and antiracist programs.

The administration, during this period, did little more than create committees to study the various issues and the work of still other committees. A proposal for a faculty-controlled university

people were sitting on the floor of the room. They knew how to respond to the competing cries of "Just sit still!" and "Hey! People are getting killed out there!"

In a self-critical discussion later, students agreed it was necessary to have responsible leaders appointed to deal with such

# NY Panthers: a funeral, more busts

By Chris Robinson

April 19 was a grey morning in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Mourners coming out of the subway were drenched on their way to the Siloam Presbyterian Church. The funeral was for the prematurely born child of Elena and Curtis Powell: Elena had been terrorized during the arrest of her husband, one of the 21 members of the Black Panther party indicted here three weeks ago on conspiracy charges [Guardian, April 12]. Powell attended in police custody, because he is being held until \$100,000 bail is posted.

The funeral was attended by about 100 Panthers and more than 100 supporters from SDS, Movement for a Democratic Society, the Newsreel and the black community. Rev. Milton Galamison presided over the service, saying "There must be an answer to all this somewhere." Dave Brothers, Black Panther deputy chairman for New York State provided one: "Power to the people; black power to the black people; Panther power to the vanguard."

Repression has been increasing in New York, with more than 60 criminal and civil charges thrown at the Panthers in the last 10 months. There have been no convictions, but convictions are not the point. Arrests are used to intimidate, to tie up resources, to hinder organizers in their work and to give the Panthers bad publicity.

Manhattan District Attorney Frank Hogan's attempt to brand the Panthers as "terrorist" with his phony bomb-plot conspiracy has hurt them financially. Bail for the Panther 21 totals \$2.1 million, which the Panthers have been unable to raise, and that means that the 21 are being kept from organizing.

Contributions to the Black Panther Legal Defense Fund should be sent to Box 1224, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202.

Three more Panthers were indicted April 18 for attempted murder, plus possession of and assault with a deadly weapon. These charges, handled by the Brooklyn DA, stem from an incident last Aug. 2 during which two police officers claim they were shot at by Joudon Ford, Panther deputy minister of defense, Ronald Hill and William Handen. A number of movement organizers suspect that the indictments were delayed nine months in an attempt to hit the organization at a moment of weakness, just after the bust of the 21.

But the Panthers are not so weak. Support is growing in New York's black communities and among white radical organizations.

senate was passed with considerable hoopla, but no substantial move was made to meet either the SDS or SAS demands. With major trustees meeting set for April 25, SDS and SAS independently determined to take militant action in support of their respective demands.

The blacks moved first, with a brilliantly executed action which caught everyone—including SDS—off guard. At 9 a.m. April 14, 16 black freshmen, all members of SAS, seized the college admissions office in Hamilton Hall. Inside were the letters of acceptance which were to have been mailed out that day to applicants. Insisting that "Columbia University has been and remains systematically racist and oppressive in its relations with black people," the freshmen demanded that a separate admissions board, nominated by black students, be established to evaluate black applicants to the incoming freshman class.

A faculty-administration negotiating team sought to placate the blacks by promising an increased role for an SAS-nominated advisory panel, but this offer was rejected. In a statement, the freshmen said: "It must be understood that the occupation of the admissions office is an assault on the ideology behind the university's dealings with black people—that is, that black people are incapable of intelligent action in their own behalf, and that whites must therefore determine and impose upon us the inefficient, oppressive and demented solutions to black people's problems."

The blacks indicated their intention of remaining in Hamilton Hall indefinitely. SDS, at a mammoth meeting that night, voted in support of the insurgent freshmen. Throughout the sit-in, white students were on hand to confront any police that might be called in to eject the blacks. The administration, worried that the use of police would lead to further disruptions by angry students, resorted to the injunction.

At 2:45 a.m. April 16, the black freshmen left Hamilton Hall after being notified that they would be served. The blacks, before going "underground" to avoid service of the injunction, indicated that they would resume their campaign for black control of the admissions, and called for support from the rest of the university community. The Philosophy Hall sit-in was SDS's response to the call.

## Factionalism

Factionalism emerged when the SDS Expansion Committee, dominated by the Progressive Labor Party, condemned the black demands as "petit-bourgeois nationalist." This group led a sit-in in open defiance of the majority of SDS. On April 18, the day following the Philosophy Hall action. About a dozen students joined the five or six PL members at Columbia, but they ended the action by the evening.

The "renegade sit-in," as it was termed by SDS in a leaflet condemning the action, concentrated on the issue of Columbia expansion, arguing that the only good issues are those that relate to the students to workers on the job and in the community. While "open admissions" is a bad demand because bringing blacks to Columbia makes them bourgeois.

# A week in the life of ... the campus revolt

Targets included the military and racism as the student movement snarled up more high schools and college administration buildings last week.

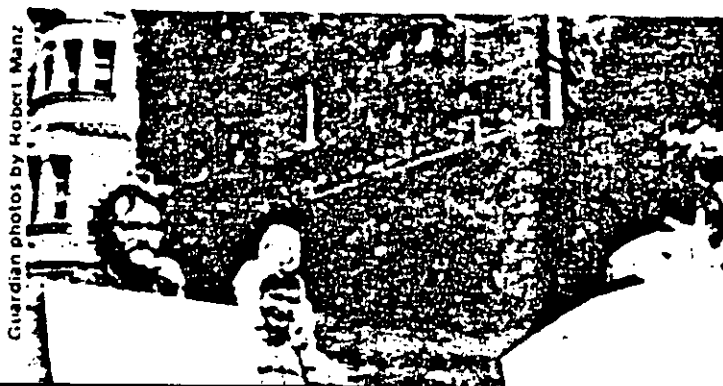
Two hundred students at **LA SALLE COLLEGE** in Philadelphia occupied a campus building April 15, calling for an end to ROTC and a reexamination of the "decision-making process of the college." LaSalle students voted 1229-640 to end ROTC, but the faculty and administration voted to keep it.

At **HARVARD UNIVERSITY** on April 18, students voted to call off their strike [see *Guardian*, April 19] for one week so that they could evaluate the administration's response to their demands. The vote came after the Harvard Corporation (Harvard's top administrative body) agreed to withdraw academic credit from the ROTC program—a major student demand. They said that ROTC could remain as an unfinanced, extracurricular activity, but the Army has never before sanctioned such an arrangement.

Dissenting from the student action, the Harvard SDS chapter and the Association of African and Afro-American Students decided to continue their boycott of classes because the administration had not come to terms with them on other demands. These include an end to university expansion into the community, a restructuring of the decision-making process and the institution of a black studies program under the authority of the AAAS.

Opposition to ROTC came also from 29 college editors who signed and endorsed an editorial printed by the **COLLEGIATE PRESS SERVICE** April 15. The editors, seeking "the abolition of ROTC as a sanctioned course offering," see the military as "alien to the ends of a liberal education."

At the end of some liberal educations is a draft notice, but for one student there may be a reprieve. Michael Glick was arrested in a student sit-in at New York's **QUEENS COLLEGE** on April 1. Ordered for induction April 17, Glick was turned down by officials at the Ft. Hamilton induction center, who informed him they would wait for the results of his trial.



Guardian photos by Robert Manz

The student movement is taking its toll, if **SEN. HARRY F. BYRD** (D-Va.) is to be believed. He reports that there aren't enough students to fill the Marine's ranks. "General Leonard F. Chapman Jr., commandant of the Marine Corps, told me that his service has been forced to drop its requirements for a college degree for officer candidates," Byrd said in a speech to the Winchester, Va., Jaycees April 12.

Students from **UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY**, along with members of the neighboring community, demonstrated at the 113th Street branch of the Chemical Bank of New York on April 18. The protest concerned Chemical's heavy investment in South Africa, and was designed to highlight current United Nations deliberations on expelling the bank from the UN building because of its support of South African white racism.

One hundred black students marched on the home of John T. Caldwell, chancellor of **NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY**, in Raleigh on April 15. They were protesting the use of black maids in NC State dormitories. They termed Caldwell a racist for claiming that the women wanted to keep their jobs as maids.

Students at **ATLANTA UNIVERSITY**, in Georgia, held 22 of their trustees captive for more than 24 hours. The school was the alma mater of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and the students were demanding that a university research center be named in his memory.

More trouble erupted at **SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY** in New Orleans, where police arrested 27 students last week after the American flag was torn down by students who defended themselves with rocks. They were demanding a black studies program, an end to censorship of the student newspaper and the completion of construction of university buildings. On April 15, demonstrations were again held and a black, red and green flag of liberation was raised over the American flag. A speaker from the Bad Niggers, an unofficial student group, said "The black stands for black people, the red is for our blood and the green is for the land we hope to have."

In Texas, indictments were issued against 14 members of SDS and Afro-Americans for Black Liberation. Margie Haile (an SDS regional traveler), Dwight Allen and Gene Locke (two AABL leaders) were charged with incitement to riot, participation in a riot and malicious mischief. The other 11 were arrested on the last two charges. Bail was set at \$1500 for the three organizers and \$1000 for the others. The charges are the result of a demonstration on March 7 at the **UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON** around demands for a black studies department controlled by the community.

A nine-day sit-in by 600 students at **STANFORD UNIVERSITY** ended April 18. The demonstrators, demanding an end to campus war research, had held the Applied Electronics Laboratory. Stanford President Kenneth Pitzer agreed to keep the building closed for a week after the end of the occupation. But he

Confrontation at Harvard: Students collide with police over issue of ROTC. Despite bloodied heads and end of strike, boycott continues.



warned the students that if they remained outside campus they would be sent in to protect secret government files.

At **SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE** police were finally withdrawn from the campus, which has been in turmoil since November of last year. Acting President S.I. Hayakawa has so far refused to intervene in any criminal court cases resulting from the strike. Of the 22 people tried so far, 10 have been acquitted, 5 have had a hung jury and six have been convicted. Members of the Black Student Union have accused Hayakawa of using his office as a political springboard. His sights are said to be set upon the post of state superintendent of schools.

On April 5 in Los Angeles, 25 students were found guilty of charges stemming from a sit-in at **SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE COLLEGE** Jan. 9. Since the trials started on March 1, 67 people have been acquitted and four cases have been dismissed. The only other conviction was because of a guilty plea.

At **CORNELL UNIVERSITY** in Ithaca, N.Y., 40 black students held the student center on April 19. It was Parents Day at Cornell and the demonstrators, protesting the university's racist policies, caused much confusion.

The *Guardian* West Coast Bureau, *Liberation News Service* and *NOI Express* (New Orleans) provided material for the report above, which was compiled by Chris Robinson.



# 'Presidio GIs' defense puts Army on trial

By Robert L. Allen  
*Guardian West Coast Bureau*

Ft. Ord, Calif.

The defense has taken to the offensive in the trial here of 14 young soldiers accused of mutiny.

Chief defense counsel Terence Hallinan has turned the tables, putting the Army on trial for what it has allowed to happen in San Francisco's Presidio stockade. Witness after witness has testified to the sordid conditions, harassment, guards' brutality and the disturbingly frequent suicide attempts of prisoners. Richard Bunch, a young prisoner suffering from severe mental instability whose shooting touched off the alleged mutiny last October, has also been a focal point of defense testimony.

Law officer Col. James Hagan has allowed this testimony because it is relevant to the state of mind of the defendants at the time of the "mutiny." The defense contends that the stockade conditions plus the killing of Bunch drove the defendants to stage a sit-down demonstration, but that this was an effort to petition for redress of grievances, not a mutiny.

The prosecution rested after three days. Prosecuting attorney Maj. John Novinger brought in a string of stockade officials, military policemen and military intelligence personnel as witnesses. He sought to establish that the men were orally warned that they might be charged with mutiny, and that they refused to break up their demonstration when ordered to do so.

The government's case was undermined, however, under cross-examination. Hallinan prodded witnesses into admitting that the words of the stockade commander were

unintelligible, at least part of the time, because of the chanting and singing of the prisoners and static in the public address system. Furthermore, he pointed out that the demonstrators could not possibly have intended to escape and that they did not engage in any violent acts. In fact, he said, they repeatedly advised each other, "Don't resist—no violence."

The prosecution wrapped up its case by showing a videotape of the demonstration. The first segment showed 27 prisoners sitting in a circle singing "Freedom" and making the peace sign with their hands. After a few seconds they began chanting, "We want the press." The second segment showed a line of MPs facing the prisoners, with teams of MPs removing them one by one to the stockade building. Some walked; others went limp; none was seen actively resisting the MPs.

## Psychiatric testimony planned

The prosecution received a severe setback when a motion for sanity-board examinations of the defendants was denied. The defense plans extensive psychiatric testimony in its effort to show that the men did not intend to commit mutiny, and Novinger wanted to counter this by having Army psychiatrists test the men. Hallinan objected, noting that the men have already been given such tests by the Army and that these tests reveal most of the defendants to be unfit for military service.

Hallinan opened the defense by calling Pvt. Clayton Reum. Reum is not a defendant, but was on the shotgun work detail on which Bunch was killed. He said that Bunch several times asked the guard

to shoot him and then trotted off down the road. Reum said that Bunch must have been "a little goofy to run down the middle of the street instead of running around the corner, like he'd do if he really wanted to escape." The guard shot Bunch in the back of the head. Reum said he did not hear the guard yell "halt."

The first defendant called to the stand was Roy Pulley. Pulley was kicked out of school and joined the Army in 1967 to learn aircraft maintenance. Instead, he was trained as a helicopter door gunner. Pulley didn't like this: "I don't believe in killing, especially women and children in Vietnam." He went AWOL and ended up in the stockade.

Hallinan questioned Pulley extensively as to what life in the stockade was like. There was "bedlam in the whole place," Pulley said. He told of food rationing, filthy toilets, overcrowding and lack of recreational activity. All this generated an air of tension and desperation that led many prisoners to try to take their own lives.

After the killing of Bunch, he and several other prisoners decided to draw up a list of grievances and stage a demonstration, Pulley recounted. "I felt something had to be done in the stockade and there was no other way to get the word out." He said the men never intended to override military authority, but had hoped that a superior officer might be prompted to inspect the stockade. "I thought we would be praised for bringing this up," he added.

Hallinan plans to call each of the defendants to the stand. So far he has called three, and the third week of the trial is expected to open with testimony from a guard to corroborate what the defendants have said about the stockade.

*Guardian West Coast Bureau*

Oakland, Calif.

The Black Panther party here and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit have begun to explore the possibility of

# Black union

## Take back May Day

# meets with Panthers

More than 200 people crowded into the black church here on April 19 to hear representatives of the league discuss the subject. There was a broad range of agreement among the speakers, but some differences between the Panthers and the league became apparent.

The league is composed of several revolutionary union movements and is the organizing tool of black workers in Detroit industries, primarily auto [see Guardian, March 8].

John Watson, a member of the central staff of the league, analyzed the functioning of corporate capitalism, and related this to the growing militancy among rank-and-file workers. "More and more workers are beginning to take the leadership of the struggle against the companies away from the union bureaucrats," he asserted.

Watson described the use of racism by the ruling class to divide workers from each other, with the resulting superexploitation of blacks relative to the privileged position of white workers. "White workers have the position of being trustees in the prison," said Watson, "but they shouldn't want to be in the prison at all."

He said that white racism in both the companies and the unions necessitates "a strong, independent organization among black workers." He felt that black caucuses in white-controlled unions were largely ineffective.

Watson concluded by saying that the league is now moving outside the auto industry and is trying to develop class consciousness among a wide range of black workers. It is also actively encouraging the development of revolutionary groups among white workers. The long-term goal is "to progress from purely local struggles to the level of a general strike around political as well as economic issues," he stated.

## Proletarian internationalism supported

The Panthers were represented by their political theorist, Masai, Capt. David Hilliard and Chairman Bobby Seale. Masai insisted on the need for a Marxist class analysis of American society and asserted that "the primary struggle is the class struggle." The Panthers, he continued, are interested in raising the political consciousness of workers, not in mere unionism. He said that "a degree of self-determination" was required for black workers as the most oppressed section of the working class, but that the Panthers were opposed to splitting the international proletariat.

Hilliard came down even harder on this point. He reiterated the Panthers' support of proletarian internationalism as the means of destroying capitalism. Only one union is needed to do this, he stated, and that one is called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Seale took a similar view but left open the possibility of caucuses within unions to fight racism. The difference between the groups became explicit when someone asked Watson if he were advocating separate unions for black workers. Watson answered yes.

The Panthers have been active in organizing a Black Panther caucus among the 1700 black workers at a General Motors plant

By Margie Stumbo

There is one day which unquestionably belongs to the left—May Day, the international workers' holiday.

Though we have been taught to believe this holiday foreign, May Day was born in America 83 years ago. On May 1, 1886, 200,000 workers across the U.S. went on general strike, to fight for the eight-hour day.

During the demonstrations, which lasted for more than 80,000 people were on the streets of Chicago. Police shot down a striker on May 3; on May 4 a protest demonstration was held in Haymarket Square. A bomb exploded when police charged the peaceful demonstration; seven cops were killed. Police mowed down the strikers, killing some; scores more injured.

Eight labor leaders were rounded up and charged with conspiracy; four were hanged; one committed suicide in his jail cell. Since 1886, liberation movements throughout the world have honored May Day.

This year in New York, movement groups are urged to march on Wall Street, demanding freedom for political prisoners—in particular, the Panther 21 [see article, page 3].

Called by regional SDS, local SDS chapters, Against War and Fascism, several high school groups and others, demonstrators plan to assemble in small groups across the city and march on Wall Street, starting between 11:30 a.m. and noon. Organizers see the march as a chance for a unified movement demonstration, a time of renewed and intense struggle in New York City.

Talk of a high school student strike to begin on May Day continues to mount. New York women's liberation groups are thinking about a demonstration outside the Women's House of Detention for that day, partly to support Joan Bird, of the Panther 21, who is

in nearby Fremont, Calif. Kenny Horston, director of the caucus, said it was formed about seven months ago with the purpose of opposing discrimination against black and Mexican workers, and fighting for better working conditions. He said that the caucus already has more than 150 members and has drafted a 10-point program.

Horston, who also coordinated the conference here, is an advocate of a Panther alliance with the league. "We have very good relations with these brothers [the league]," he said in an interview with the Guardian, "because we see who our enemy is. It's not one another. Our enemy is the bureaucracy, the unions and the power structure of the gigantic corporations."

## VIEW POINT

### GIs under the gun

A rash of political activity has begun to spread through the U.S. armed forces.

Smouldering hatred for the war in Vietnam and the military has risen to the surface on most bases in the continental United States. Soldier-activists now organize at many of them, underground newspapers proliferate and in recent months, Army stockades have witnessed an influx of agitators.

The reaction of Pentagon officials has ranged from uneasiness to horror. In some cases, base officials have moved decisively against the dissidents. But despite the harassment, the court-martials, the imprisonments and the death threats (shipment to Vietnam), the GI movement has steadily intensified.

That movement, just in its own right and critical to the development of a revolutionary struggle, must be encouraged and extended. GIs have opened up a crucial front and Americans both in and out of uniform can play a key role in building that movement and undercutting this nation's massive military might.

The potentials for organizing in the armed forces are explosive. As activists have found, the Army is highly vulnerable to political agitation. Military units are now glutted with draftees. In the past two years alone, more than a half million men have been inducted, largely through the draft.

Black Americans now disproportionately fill the military ranks, and continue to be overrepresented on the Vietnam front lines. The number of black power militants is on the upswing, according to Pentagon authorities who fear that the potential for racial violence in the Army is potentially as great as at home [see Guardian, April 19].

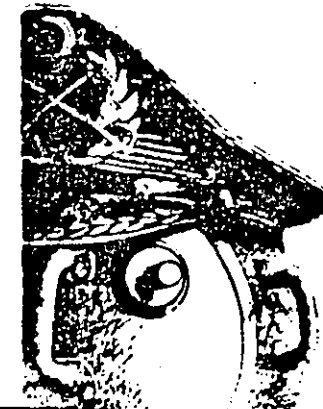
The most unpopular war in American history is hardly popular among the men who have to fight it. AWOLs are up; desertion is up; so is political consciousness. Dissatisfaction has reportedly become so rampant that few GIs—outside the career officers—volunteer for Vietnam duty.

mimeographed—publish in and around U.S. bases, pro soldiers with the latest documentation of GI harassment movement news and radical analysis. Many of the need funds and supportive staffs to help publications circulate.

Armed with the Uniform Code of Military Justice, military authorities are seeking to cleanse political activity from their ranks. Their counterattacks have run the gamut from confinement to quarters to lengthy imprisonment. More counselors and lawyers trained in the fine points of military law are urgently needed.

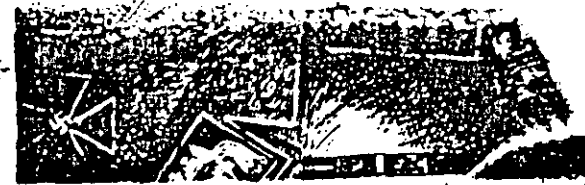
Finally, and perhaps most importantly for the GI movement working alongside the GI movement, there is the need to expose the repressive actions that military authorities take to squelch internal dissension. From the Presidio in the West to GIs United at Ft. Jackson in the East, commanders are trying to crack down and sift out troublemakers. Demonstrations, support groups and letters and telegrams to the warmongers who "represent our interests in Washington" may help in lessening the weight of the burden on the men in uniform who are feeling the weight of the threat.

At the Presidio, movement support has precipitated the threat of a Congressional inquiry and forced the Army to move the court-martials three



houses now function outside bases at Ft. Lewis in Tacoma, Wash. and at Fort Jackson in Columbia, S.C. They serve as alternative meeting grounds for soldiers, political headquarters, off-base relaxation centers and places where young men can pick up and peruse the latest subversive literature. More coffee houses, run by committed radicals, are needed.

More than a dozen GI underground papers—often



### Not a gringo

*Jim Kennedy, Albuquerque:* We all do *not* know that Raquel Welch is an American, at least *not* a gringo. —Just a dissenting note from an otherwise good review [Guardian, April 12]. Raquel Welch is a chicana, one who contributed, I'm told, some money and time to the Mexican contingents of the Poor People's March.

She may be blonde-haired and blue-eyed, but so are a number of northern New Mexicans whose families have been here since the 1600s, and so are others who had a gringo in their past. But no chicana or chicano should be referred to as an American when that is equivalent to gringo. Especially not after the Denver Chicano Youth Conference, March 27-30, attended by 1500 militants who decreed Aztecan (northern New Mexico, Texas, California and the historic lands seized by the U.S. in 1848) to be an occupied nation that would be freed and made sovereign by whatever means necessary.

### An omission?

*J. Simms, Spotswood, N.J.:* While all you have said in your April 19 Viewpoint ("Big lies") about why this government is trying to tie movement activity in with financial aid from Cuba is certainly true, I feel you have overlooked a main point.

To most people in this country the name Cuba remains a vile and paranoia-producing word synonymous with such things as "a threat to freedom" and mass executions, a place where the entire population is imprisoned and terrorized into submission by the relentless iron rule of Castro.

This false image of Cuba as a dark, terror-infested land was the product of the tools of U.S. imperialism/capitalism in an attempt to quell public sympathy for socialist values and to stifle any thoughts that oppressed people in this country might have about identifying with a revolutionary movement which, as it gathered momentum, could destroy all that America

stands for: exploitation.

By associating the movement—especially the Black Panther party and SDS—with this negative image of Cuba, this government hopes to discredit us in the eyes of the general public and our potential supporters. For instance, by accusing the Black Panther party of planning to blow up various department stores, killing hundreds of people, and then strongly implying that Cuba finances such plans, it is the government's intention, first, to keep the negative image of Cuba going strong and, second, to try to show that the Black Panther party is an extension of "Cuban terrorism."

Obviously, we in the movement cannot stand idly by with mute voices as the government's treacherous and well organized propaganda machine spouts forth. People must be educated to the truth about Cuba and ourselves. And only through some massive and educational undertaking of bringing the facts to the general public do we stand a chance.

**CORRESPONDENCE**

ce the sentences of several of the Presidio 27.  
sicult process of weaving together a radical GI  
has only begun. The brass and the Pentagon  
e the upper hand, and GI agitators are under the  
be years before those guns are turned around.

meanwhile, the strategic outline of a broadside  
me day destroy the U.S. capitalist system  
apparatus has begun to mesh. The  
continue in the vanguard, along with other  
nations. Revolution deepens and spreads from  
country as determined peoples fight to extricate  
from a planet mired in U.S. imperialism.

ns of U.S. empire are numbered.

the mother country, students complement the GI  
by actively sabotaging the military's officer  
Reserve Officers Training Corps. A restless black  
also under the gun, moves slowly toward  
The new left gravitates toward the working class  
ome day bring the machinery of exploitation and  
war to a halt.

I movement remains crucial, for the U.S. can no  
press liberation movements abroad than it can  
ranks.

ar is coming home.

## FROM THE NEW LEFT CARL DAVIDSON

The political practice of the new left is often quite removed from the best of its intentions. Julius Lester's critique of the SDS resolution on the Black Panther party [Guardian, April 19] points out how white student radicals have yet to root out the attitudes and practice of white supremacy within their ranks. Lester hit on a raw nerve, and a good number of people yelped. Hopefully, a good many more will have their eyes opened.

It needs to be said. Despite their professed sympathies for the black liberation movement, many new leftists have failed to deal with their own racism and the racism within the movement.

Lester, for instance, criticizes SDS for referring to certain black people as "porkchop" nationalists, a derogatory term used by the Panthers to attack black groups collaborating with the police.

The problem goes much further. During the April 5 antiwar march in New York, dozens of white student radicals saw fit to single out black policemen for verbal harassment, screaming, "Uncle Tom, Uncle Tom."

Or worse, an SDS chapter on a campus of 20,000 students with 300 black students has the nerve to put down the black student association for being "isolated" and a

reached incredible proportions. At one school in New York, an SDS member arrogantly attacked the cultural nationalism of a black group on campus, then complained about how "our" black students weren't as good as "theirs" out at San Francisco State. And at one recent meeting, someone involved with the new left for several years argued that since he wasn't a liberal, he had no qualms about addressing black people who he thought had done something stupid as "nigger."

These examples are meant to point out a serious problem, not to condemn the new left for being as racist as the rest of the society, which it is not. But the problem is more difficult within the left, since individuals often use their rhetorical and political skills to develop a whole series of rationalizations for finding ways to avoid confronting the issue of white supremacy.

Black people, as an oppressed nation within this country, have the right to self-determination. Lester is absolutely correct in asserting that black people have the right to choose their own vanguard and develop and determine the correctness of their own political program.

Lester was also correct in saying that no white revolutionary in this country can be a nationalist. On the other hand, Lester was

Drawing by Hermann Raum  
in EULENSPIEGEL

association for being "isolated" and a  
of cultural nationalists." Yet after  
the black students had sat in demanding a  
black studies program and other antiracist  
measures, the first thing the same SDS  
chapter did was tack on a series of reformist  
white student-power demands. Once again,  
the hotshot white student radicals deflect the  
movement and take the cutting edge off the  
fight against white supremacy.

The Panthers may have important reasons  
for making a distinction between  
revolutionary nationalism and cultural  
nationalism. But for many new left activists,  
the terms serve as little more than a cover  
for the age-old distinction whites have  
always made between "good niggers" and  
"bad niggers."

This is especially true when many new  
leftists know precious little about black  
culture in general and the origins of black  
nationalism in particular. The Black  
Muslims, in many ways the essence of  
cultural nationalism, inspired the political  
development of a black leader like Malcolm  
X. Malcolm in turn played a major role in  
the radicalization of SNCC, and paved the  
way for the growth of the Black Panther  
party.

While this may be an oversimplification,  
Lester's point that cultural nationalism  
"... has laid the foundation for  
revolutionary nationalism" is correct in  
many ways. At any rate, whatever the  
understanding was of those who wrote the  
SDS resolution, the way many local SDS  
activists have acted on it has been to show  
disdain for black students wearing  
African-style clothes, taking African names,  
etc.

In a few cases, this condescension has

nationalist. On the other hand, Lester is  
mistaken to say that whites do not have the  
right to support revolutionary nationalism.

## A revolutionary duty

White revolutionaries have to be  
internationalists. There are two ways they  
can be so: one correct, the other incorrect.  
For instance, the Progressive Labor party  
claims to be "internationalist" by saying  
that "all nationalism is reactionary." Coming  
from a party within the main oppressor  
nation in the world, this is the worst sort of  
chauvinism.

On the other hand, when the world is  
divided into oppressed and oppressor  
nations, as Lenin argued, then the  
revolutionaries of the oppressor nations not  
only have the right *but the duty* to support  
the revolutionary national liberation  
struggles of the oppressed peoples. Without  
this, there is absolutely no basis for  
international working-class unity.

The main intention of the SDS resolution  
on the Black Panther party was to educate  
its membership on the vanguard role of the  
black liberation movement and to attack the  
repression of the Panthers. Unfortunately,  
some SDS leaders used the resolution's  
specific naming of the Panthers as the  
vanguard as a political football in settling  
their own differences with the Progressive  
Labor party. This was unnecessary and, in  
practice, reinforced sectarian and  
chauvinistic attitudes within SDS toward the  
black liberation movement as a whole.

Hopefully, Lester's critique will initiate a  
serious process of criticism and self-criticism  
within SDS which will correct these mistakes  
and strengthen the revolutionary movement.

2. The American Civil Liberties  
Union in Chicago has been cooper-  
ating directly in the preparation of  
the defense.

There is an urgent need for film  
and photographic evidence of my  
encounter with the Deputy Super-  
intendent of Police, which occurred  
on Wednesday evening, Aug 28,  
sometime between 7 p.m. and 8  
p.m., at the intersection of Michigan  
and Balbo Avenues. It took place  
shortly after the brutal police  
attack against the demonstrators in  
that intersection. In my effort to  
secure safe passage for fellow de-  
monstrators, I was severely beaten  
by the police and required hospital-  
ization and surgery. I have since  
filed a notice for damages against  
the Chicago authorities.

Anyone who may have been  
witness to these events or who has  
any knowledge of film or photo-  
graphic material covering these  
events, please contact me in care of  
the Department of Sociology, Case  
Western Reserve University, Clevel-  
and, Ohio 44106; phone (216)  
368-2624.

Peck, Co-Chairman,  
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in the Illinois state  
are the most serious  
oped by the Daley  
Chicago against the  
leaders. My trial  
continued until June



# DC witches hex United Fruit

By Marilyn Salzman Webb  
Guardian Washington Bureau

Washington

Last Wednesday was a rainy day in Washington, a perfect day for witches to emerge and terrorize the countryside, as the old myths go. Eleven women, looking like the countless secretaries streaming through downtown office buildings on their way to lunch, took an elevator up into the building at 1511 K St. NW here, where the United Fruit offices are located. They entered a door marked Women's Room, and emerged WITCHES.

Armed with drums, a steaming cauldron of banana peels with Chiquita labels, hexes and leaflets that spoke truth, they cackled and screamed down to the sixth floor and into the United Fruit offices to spread their evil:

United Fruit makes lots of loot  
By robbing the poor who picks its fruit.  
Bananas and rifles; sugar and death.  
War for profit; tarantulas' breath.  
United Fruit makes lots of loot,  
The CIA is in its boot.  
Workers unite; the dictators fall:  
United Fruit perish; freedom for all!

The hex was cast on the sleepy office of a corporation that thrives off the land and sweat of Latin Americans, while their receptionist called the police. "There are witches screaming in my office," she shrieked, so as to be heard over the clamor.

After casting their spell, the witches took off down the stairs to the front of the building and set their cauldron on K street amidst scurrying lunchers. They hexed the building in a magic circle and gave leaflets to the crowd that gathered.

"Let us celebrate Pan American week. In the name of oppressed people everywhere, Washington Witch has chosen . . .



to hex the Washington offices of the United Fruit Company," the leaflet read. "In its pursuit of profit this corporation exploits the people of nations it purports to benefit, and manipulates United States government policy.

"It is the United Fruit Company for whose interests the CIA engineered the overthrow of the democratically elected Arbenz government of Guatemala in 1954; which effectively controls the government and economy of Honduras where the Guatemalan coup was planned and its forces supplied with U.S. arms; which owns and controls transportation and communications systems in Central America in the form of railroads, steamship lines and radio stations; which has 100% control of over 130 subsidiaries in Latin America, Europe and the United States; whose employees have no effective voice in the operation or policies of the corporation nor any control over their work."

A spokesman for United Fruit deemed these charges communist-inspired, although Washington witches said much of their information was taken from Moody's Industrial Index.

Following on the heels of the DC Nine's more militant attack on Dow Chemical Co. [Guardian, March 29 and April 5], witches conceive of this attack on United Fruit as the beginning of assaults on all corporations that rule America.

WITCH, Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell, is an action arm of women's liberation. In WITCH's April 16 action they claimed, "Today, we who fight for women's liberation invoke the spirits of freedom and justice, and support the struggle of all liberation movements."

"Witch is a total concept of revolutionary female identity," said Heidi Steffens, a Washington witch. "It is an identification with women who in past centuries were deemed dangerous

## WORKWEEK

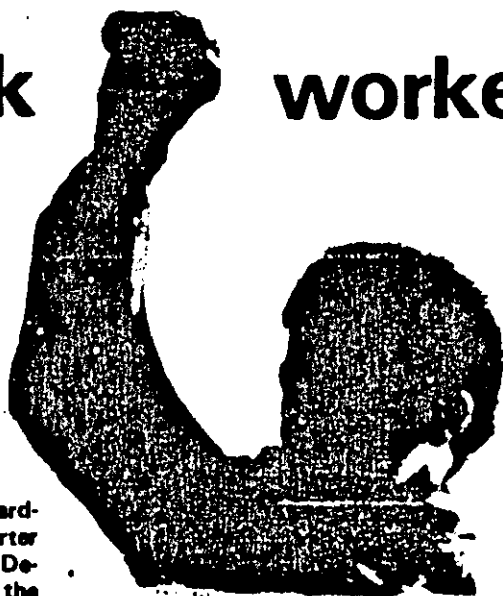
**BOYCOTT FEVER.** Don't buy Shell products. That's the plea from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers this week as the company refuses to bargain with the union. (OCAW called off a boycott of Standard Oil products two weeks ago—see Guardian, April 19.) Shell Oil Co. sought to suspend 15 workers and fire 10 others as well as deny vacations to 200 employees during the OCAW strike in California. The strike is over. The boycott is on—backed by AFL-CIO president George Meany.

**DON'T JOIN THIS CONSPIRACY.** When a federal grand jury handed down conspiracy indictments last month against eight movement activists for their part in the confrontation in Chicago during the Democratic convention, they quickly dubbed themselves "The Conspiracy" and invited their comrades to join. Eight Chicago cops were also indicted by the grand jury on charges of clobbering newsmen. The cops have now set up a police defense fund to support their own.

**GUARANTEED JOB PROGRAMS** to fight poverty are "a scare and a delusion" since most of the hard-core poor are unemployable. **Senator Ben W. Heineman**, chairman of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance at a Congressional hearing last week. He called for a minimum annual cash payment to the poor.

**A FUNNY THING** happens on the way to the job market. Women are systematically excluded, as Diane Monk of the Chicago Newspaper Guild points out. According to the Newspaper Fund, Inc., 34.5% of journalism graduates in 1967 were women. But getting a job on the news desk is something else. Take Chicago city rooms. Women hold 13% of the city-side jobs at the Daily News, 7.5% at the Sun-Times, 10% at the Tribune and 20% at the American. Among Chicago's four daily papers, there is not one woman managing editor, city editor, assistant city editor or staff photographer. "Rewrite men, as the name implies, also are all men," says Miss Monk, writing in the April 11 Guild Reporter. All this, despite the fact that women job applicants are there. "We have three times as many female as male applicants for reporting jobs," says an editor at the Chicago Daily News.

## Black workers in revolt



In February the Guardian sent labor reporter Robert Dudnick to Detroit to investigate the growing black worker insurgency in the auto plants—an insurgency that has the motor city in turmoil. On March 8, the Guardian ran a special supplement, a complete account of the beginning struggles of what many believe to be the country's most important radical movement. Now these reports—plus a Guardian Viewpoint and a specially written analysis are available as a Guardian pamphlet. As the student movement looks toward the working class, this report has become essential. Organizers are learning that the confluence of national and class struggle can shake up, then bring down, the domestic empire.

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heretics and revolutionaries in the context of a religious-orient society. They were burned for their heretical preachings rebellious actions. In the context of corporate America we revolutionaries and urban guerillas—we are witches," said R. Sigal, another DC witch.

Washington WITCH is one of many covens of witches spreading wherever there are women's liberation groups. Begun in New York and spread via conferences and the Voice of Women's Liberation Newsletter, WITCH is an arm of women's liberation that strikes those institutions in America that have the power to control and define human life. Its main thrust has been against financial and corporate America, but it has struck blows at cultural programming of women as consumers.

In one of the first WITCH actions, the New York group invaded the Stock Exchange and the Chase Manhattan Bank on venerable Wall Street. "Wall Street, Wall Street, up against wall, street," they sang while their leaflets attacked this financial front for corporate imperialism.

Using WITCH as a scare tactic, Chicago witches hexed M. Janowitz, chairman of the University of Chicago's sociology department, during a sit-in this winter. Their action was aimed at publicizing his military research to be used against the ghetto and against his definition of "valuable research." Chicago WITCH also focused on "good" and "evil" intellectual pursuits.

In a Guardian interview, Marlene Dixon, whose failure to be rehired sparked off the U of C actions, said, "Women can't be good [image] because they are ridiculous people. So we have nothing else to lose, we have to be hard—we have to be witches."

And hard the Chicago witches were in their hex of Chicago Merchandise Mart and the Chicago Transit Authority. During a hex at a bridal fair they were forcibly removed by security guards, as were witches at a New York bridal fair.

Witch as a concept gives women a new, aggressive, revolutionary identity. It also provides new tactics which challenge the publicity and discussion of major power institutions in America and their cultural shaping of women.

WITCH as a strategy combines an attack on cultural programming with an attack on the corporations and institutions that produce that programming. As "urban guerillas," the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy has been developing new directions for raising understanding of power and is significantly adding to an all-out movement against corporate America.

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NYC Daily Sun 100

# NY welfare clients hit the streets

By Ted Kaptchuk

It was a significant breakthrough for the welfare rights movement and the left as a whole when a militant street march of 4000 welfare recipients and welfare workers poured down Fifth Avenue on April 15. For the first time in New York, it was clear that welfare clients were talking about more than increases and cuts in the welfare budget: they were talking about taxing the rich, about politics, about power.

The Citywide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups, the Social Service Employees Union and District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees had called for a rally in Central Park, beginning with feeder marches from points around the city, to protest the recent series of cuts in welfare and Medicaid proposed by the New York State legislature [see Guardian, April 12]. These cuts amount to a grave threat to the lives of the one million New Yorkers who need welfare payments to subsist in the culture of poverty. The state, faced with a general shortage of revenue available for such programs, plans to take it out of the hides of the poor.

As the rally began, liberal rhetoric blossomed. The Citywide committee and the unions had invited the usual roster of liberal politicians—including Democratic mayoral candidate Rep. James Scheuer (D-N.Y.)—and even went so far as to invite the city Commissioner of Welfare, Jack Goldberg, for whom welfare clients and workers have little affection.

Union speakers had little to say, at best calling for tax reforms, and many of them left at noon to lead a contingent of rank-and-file union members to the state capital at Albany to reason with the legislators. Many observers at the rally felt another motive for the departure was the desire of union leadership to keep the rank and file away from the influence of militant welfare clients.

## Goldberg booed off

The liberals had a tough time speaking. The welfare mothers at the rally mistrusted them, and the presence of an organized group of radicals—the welfare chapter of Movement for a Democratic Society (caseworkers, plus several welfare recipients and full-time welfare organizers)—helped solidify the opposition. The politicians were constantly interrupted by chants of “Pimps for the ruling class” and “Liars!” When Commissioner Goldberg was introduced, he was greeted with boos. MDS people began to rush the speakers’ platform, and Goldberg was hastily escorted off to his waiting Cadillac by police.

By noon, with the departure of many trade unionists, the mood of the rally was definitely militant. Groups which had arrived from lower Manhattan and the Bronx some of the Spanish-speaking people carrying Cuban flags added to the spirit.

A member of the Black Panther party who spoke about Mao power, revolution and how the Panthers serve the people was given an excited reception. Warmly received also was a member MDS, who spoke of the need to support the Panthers and begin a war on the ruling class that is destroying the lives of people, both here and abroad.

The leadership of the Citywide Committee, responding to the militance of the crowd, decided to call for a march to Governor Rockefeller’s home (which had been urged by welfare mothers and by MDS people). Beulah Sanders, from Citywide, gave speech on the need for all-out struggle to improve the lives of the poor. Hulbert James and Peter Wiley, of the National Welfare Rights Organization, spoke of revolution and street action.

## To the streets!

At this point, 4000 angry men, women and children poured into the streets—stopping traffic, ignoring police and shouting. Police thought the march was headed for Rockefeller’s place at the end of the block, expecting picketing. But at the crucial moment the crowd kept going, right through the center of midtown Manhattan.

Chanting burst out in English and Spanish, and the crowd picked up the Panther slogan, “Power to the people!” Traffic was halted down Fifth Avenue from 72nd to 42nd Street, and across 42nd to Grand Central Station.

By the time the crowd reached the station, it had dwindled to 800. Then police boxed it in with horse-mounted cops, motorcycles and foot patrolmen. Cops on horses charged into the crowd on the sidewalk, trampling and injuring a number of people. Most of the 15 persons who were arrested in the course of the day were picked up here. Hulbert James, of National Welfare Rights, was beaten and arrested.

A document recently discovered by a city employee in a city government file indicates that if the state had not cut the welfare budget, the city would have done it. As it now stands, all grants for clothing, moving, transportation, graduation and apartment security will be abolished, and food and other basic allowances reduced. The state is also trying to drastically cut supplemental assistance to low-paid workers (the fastest growing category of welfare clients), rather than raise the state minimum wage, which would obviate the need for such assistance. Neither will the state eliminate the quarter billion dollars that New York welfare clients pay yearly to slumlords for substandard and illegal housing. As welfare clients see it, this is no war on poverty, but a war on poor people.

The most popular slogan of the day, according to one caseworker at the rally, was “No war on poverty, war on the rich.”

*Ted Kaptchuk is a member of New York MDS staff.*

# Chicago workers wildcat

By Clark Kissinger  
Guardian Midwest Bureau

## Chicago

April saw the start of two wildcat strikes here as 10,000 workers crippled six Zenith Radio Corp. plants and 300 dock loaders and warehousemen struck United Parcel Service.

The Zenith strike began April 1 when 240 members of Local 93 of the American Federation of Technical Engineers struck the Rauland division.

The production workers at this plant are represented by Local 1031 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which has a history of sweetheart contracts. Its president and business agent, Maurice Perlin, is a prominent Democratic machine figure in Chicago who was picked by Mayor Daley as a delegate to the Democratic national convention last August.

## Walkout

Local 1031's contract was due to expire April 7, but union officials agreed to extend it to April 21. This was too much for union members, who walked out in what the union termed "an unauthorized work stoppage." After two days Zenith was able to get the Rauland division back to work with an offer of a 7% pay increase immediately and 6% next year.

But on April 11, 9000 workers at four other Zenith plants walked out, this time because of repeated unsuccessful attempts of the IBEW to replace the Independent Radionics Workers of America as bargaining agent. IRWA was formed in the 1940s as a company union, but recently elections and unrest in the plants, especially among black workers, resulted in its taking a more militant stance. Now it appears that Zenith would rather deal with the IBEW at all its plants.

The IRWA has now defeated the IBEW twice in National Labor Relations Board representation elections, but each time the IBEW has appealed the decision,

claiming irregularities. The result has been that no new contract can be negotiated until the NLRB certifies a bargaining agent. It was the IBEW's second such appeal which precipitated the walkout.

On April 14 the plants remained closed and cops arrested three workers in picket-line incidents. Zenith offered the workers a 5% increase pending the outcome if they would just come back, but they stood firm. On April 15 the NLRB, under intense pressure, declared the IRWA the winner, and on April 16 Zenith took TV spots and full-page ads in Chicago papers begging the workers to come back the next day. Meanwhile, at Guardian press time, the AFTE local in the Rauland division was still out.

At United Parcel Service the workers are mostly black and are fighting against company exploitation and the collusion of the white officers of Teamsters Local 705. The principal issue has been compulsory overtime. Union officials wanted to arbitrate, but the workers decided to take up the issue on the job. The company responded with a lockout April 8.

When UPS tried to open again April 11, they were greeted both by picketing workers and by students organized by the Progressive Labor party. Company officials freaked out and massive police protection was summoned. The company served coffee to the cops and the Teamster local authorized drivers

to cross the picket line.

Since the strike began there has been no media coverage, except in the Chicago Daily Defender (a black community paper). Commenting on the blackout, a now-fired worker, Larry Lewis, said "They [the company] seem to control the media."

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# AL PAREDÓN

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**NIXON COOLS IT IN PERU:** Just two days before sanctions required by the Hickenlooper Amendment were to be enacted against Peru (banning U.S. aid and sugar imports), President Nixon once again invoked his policy of nonconfrontation. On April 7, Secretary of State Rogers announced the deferral of sanctions at a news conference, the rationale being that the nationalized International Petroleum Co. has a case on appeal in the Peruvian courts to obtain compensation for its U.S. owners. A more realistic appraisal would indicate that John Irwin, Nixon's special emissary to Peru (and a spokesman for the policy of reasoned Rockefellerism) has had more success in persuading Nixon to be patient (i.e., to cool it) than in settling the dispute.

The New York Times praised the delaying tactic, saying it would strengthen the position of the more reasonable voices within the Peruvian junta. But a more serious threat—a U.S.-inspired coup—was hinted at four days before the Secretary's announcement. A story in the Times stated that "there is widespread speculation that President Juan Velasco Alvarado may soon be deposed by fellow officers." A "highly placed observer" was quoted as saying, "If America imposes the sanctions against Peru, there will be a power play against Velasco almost immediately. It would be carried out by some other general, of course, and there are roughly three candidates. . . . Even if the dispute between Peru and the United States is resolved, Velasco is likely to be pushed aside, but it may take longer."

A United Nations Economic Commission meeting opened in Lima last week with expressions of support for the Peruvian junta from Cuba, the Soviet Union and six other communist countries. The head of the Cuban delegation, which has the largest representation at the conference aside from Peru's, denounced the U.S. as the enemy of Latin America, and, noting that it was the eighth anniversary of the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion, said: "We don't yet know whether fate has decreed another Bay of Pigs for Peru."

In other developments, Peru seized IPC shareholdings worth \$3 million in three Peruvian companies, and upped the amount of claims against IPC from \$690 million to \$1 billion.

**POLITICAL RUMBLINGS IN CHILE:** After its poor showing in the March parliamentary elections, Chile's ruling Christian Democratic party has suffered another blow to its already precarious internal unity. On March 9, nine impoverished squatters who had occupied privately owned land near Puerto Montt were killed (and numerous others injured) by police acting under government orders, in an incident whose brutality recalled the massacre of striking workers at the El Salvador copper mine three

years ago.

Leaders of the PDC youth wing who held Interior Minister Perez Zujovic responsible for the incident and demanded his resignation were suspended from the party. Immediately thereafter five influential *rebeldes* in the left wing of the party joined the antigovernment protest and called for an immediate convocation of the party's national assembly to discuss the government's action. Even party moderates protested. A prospective presidential candidate Radomiro Tomic, who previously remained "prudently" on dead center in all the disputes.

That Chile's government is standing on shaky ground was demonstrated again at the end of March, when police arrested several available issues of Punto Final, a leftist biweekly newspaper which had published a detailed account and denunciation of the government action at Puerto Montt.

Meanwhile, Chile has begun a program aimed at the militarization of high school youth. Under the program, which has already been instituted in 34 schools, third- and fourth-grade students will receive the equivalent of basic army training. According to the Chilean military, the program is intended to "rationalize" army training, increase the number of reserve troops, cut back expenses and inculcate "obedience and a sense of security."

**ON THE MILITARY FRONT:** Following a raid on a Tupamaro company, the Tupamaro National Liberation Front of Peru has revealed that a number of prominent government officials have been involved in foreign exchange traffic and other activities. Earlier, the Tupamaros conducted the "struggle of the century" by capturing \$222,000 from a Punta del Este bank order to subsidize their underground operations. Meanwhile, in Argentina, armed attacks on banks and military outposts increased in the past few weeks, raising speculation about Tupamaro-type operations in that country.

**THE REAL STORY** behind the British invasion of Puerto Rico was printed in the Old Mole of Boston, issue number 10. "They came to Anguilla," the story describes the invasion of the island by a bizarre cast of characters behind it: "two West Coast ad men, an unbending emissary of the declining British empire, a New Jersey businessman of Anguillan descent, Aristotle Onassis and a Puerto Rican expert in smallness." (Write the Old Mole, Brookline St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139 for a copy).

# GUARDIAN TOURS

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**TOUR 1—SCANDINAVIA & THE USSR**, June 7-28, led by Sidney Berger; since 1964 our most popular tour, to Bergen, a three-day trip through the Norwegian fjords, Oslo, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Helsinki, Leningrad during the famed "White Nights" Festival, and Moscow. \$995.

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## ENGLAND

**TOURS 4 & 5—ENGLAND!** July 17-Aug. 7, and July 24-Aug. 14. Over 150 readers visited England last summer on Guardian tours, car and rail programs, etc., and on the basis of their experience we're offering these two "perfect" itineraries: 6 nights London, then a 14-day motorcoach trip to Cambridge, (1 night), York (2), Keswick, in the Lake District (2), Chester (2), Stratford (2), Bath (2), Exeter (2), including a day-trip to Torquay, and Salisbury (1) including Stonehenge. Most meals. A special "Marx Tour" in London. \$650!

**TOUR 6—MEDITERRANEAN IDYLL!** June 7-28. A lovely, leisurely trip planned by a group of Massachusetts readers and led by Lou and Edith Stein, who led our Mexico tour last summer. To Milan (1 night), Florence (5), Rome (5), Dubrovnik (3), Venice (2) and Paris (3). If you've never been to Italy, or never had enough time in Florence and Rome, take this tour! \$760.

## FAR EAST!

**TOUR 10—JAPAN / HONGKONG / HAWAII**, July 18-August 15, led by Robert Sollen, editor, New Asia News; patterned after our 1968 tour, a more leisurely 28-day trip to Tokyo, Hakone, Atami, Nagoya, Kyoto, Takamatsu, Hiroshima on Aug. 6 for the Memorial Ceremonies, Hongkong, and a 4-day rest in Honolulu at the end. Skip the crowds attending the Osaka Expo '70 next year, and go now!

**TOUR 11—EAST AFRICA!** July 12 to August 2. Bargain of the year! 8 nights in London, 14 nights Kenya and Tanzania! Nairobi, then 7-day safari to Namanga, Arusha, Ngorongoro, Manyara, Marangu, Tsavo and Mombasa. A few days rest, then off to Dar-es-Salaam for 2 nights, Zanzibar (1). Final night Mombasa and back to London and home. First class throughout, most meals. Write for information. \$1,126.

York weekly, no meals. \$320. **PLAN B:** Same as above, but special Guardian departure July 13 with many extras, including three days in Oaxaca and only 5 nights Acapulco, \$449. **PLAN C:** Regular Guardian Tour, July 12-27 to Mexico City (5 nights), Taxco (1), Acapulco (1), Oaxaca (3), and the four-day Colonial Trail tour to San Miguel de Allende, Guanajuato, Patzcuaro and San Jose Purus, one night each. All inclusive, with most meals, \$560. Write for information.

## BUDGET TOURS

May through September weekly, Guardian departures July 17 and 24. If you want a European vacation at a budget price consider one of our budget tours. They'll be 90% sold out by April 1. Each gives you six nights in London plus 14 nights in the country or countries of your choice. You get a mixture of lower first and upper second class hotels, most with private bath, all meals on the continent (breakfast only in London), sightseeing, transfers, insurance. All transportation, N.Y. back to N.Y. Write for itineraries.

**ITALIAN PANORAMA:** Depart Kennedy Airport, New York, any Thurs. May to September. Six nights London, 14 nights Italy on the following itinerary by motorcoach: Venice (2 nights), Cadenebbia (2), Florence (2), Rome (3), Montecatini (3), Assisi (1), Verona (1). New York back to N.Y. \$595.

**ITALIAN HIGHLIGHTS:** same arrangements in London, plus Pisa (1 day), Rome (2), Sorrento (3), Assisi (1), Florence (2), Viareggio (5), same price. \$595.

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### Discussion

**Community Control Thru  
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David Spencer, Luis Fuentes,  
Donald Merit, Rev. F.D. Kirk-  
patrick, Beulah Sanders, April  
25, 8:00 pm, PS 166, 132 W.  
89th St. Sp. W.S. Freedom and  
Peace Party.

Tyner Jarvis, national chairman  
of the DuBois Clubs, will speak  
on Tuesday, April 29th, at 8:30  
pm at 683 Allerton Ave., Bx.  
Topic: "Where Are Youth Head-  
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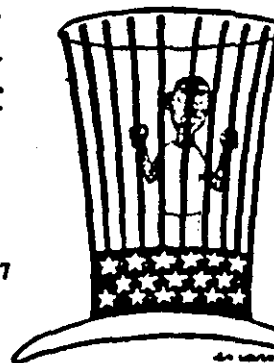
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# Guardian

Fred Burchett

Staff correspondent

Paris (by cable, April 19)

The Paris peace talks are utterly bogged down. President Nixon's assertion April 17 that the "chances of bringing this war to a peaceful conclusion have significantly improved" is not based on developments in Paris or anywhere else, between either the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or the National Liberation Front, vis a vis Washington or Saigon.

Now that Washington's misleading rumor about secret talks and progress have been snooked out into the open as false, Nixon seems to be trying to find grounds for optimism in the Saigon situation. It is becoming clearer in Paris, confirmed by the activities of General Creighton Abrams and Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in Saigon, that the only policy Nixon has for ending the war is to get the DRV and NLF to accept a revived type of Ngo Dinh Diem regime in Saigon, and to complete (through the strategic hamlet program) the physical liquidation of all patriotic and dissident forces.

American public is faced with Nixon's insoluble dilemma: "It is impossible to withdraw from Saigon until the Saigon regime is strong enough to stand on its own feet, and it is impossible for the Saigon regime ever to be strong enough to stand on its own feet. What is the answer?"

In Paris, this is translated to mean that Lodge is demanding "simultaneous" withdrawal of "external forces." Saigon's delegate, Lam, insists that they will never agree to "simultaneous" withdrawal. Only six months after the last resistance fighter is eliminated will Saigon agree maybe to withdrawal of U.S. forces. This is still the official negotiating position of Saigon's Paris delegation.

At the April 16 session of the talks, both U.S. and Saigon spokesmen refused to define what they mean by the "subversive" and "communist" the U.S. and Saigon terms respectively: forces which must be withdrawn.

It is becoming clearer than ever that there is only one way for the U.S. to get out: namely, only when it realizes it is caught between the hammer of the NLF military-political offensive, and the anvil of the U.S. protest movements. The only answer to the

Tactically, this has been shown in recent weeks by the NLF. They are hitting elements, targets, units, simultaneously now, concentrating their attacks against the main elements at the same time pinning down other subsidiary elements which are normally sent to the rescue. General Abrams has no reserve units to send to the rescue. The First Cavalry Division, usually held in reserve, was badly hit and it suffered heavy losses, incapacitating the reserve division.

Abrams' "clear and hold" strategy has been knocked on the head by the NLF spring offensive, just as Westmoreland's "search and destroy" strategy which it replaced was knocked on its head by last year's Tet offensive. The spring offensive has stabilized, consolidated and expanded the NLF's strategic position while weakening still further that of the U.S. The U.S. does not know when and where the NLF will strike next, and has been reduced to greater passivity than ever before.

NLF delegate Tran Buu Kiem exposed the real content of the U.S.-Saigon position in the Paris talks April 16, accusing them of "maneuvering to maintain many years' more presence of the U.S. expeditionary corps in South Vietnam, still harboring illusions that the South Vietnamese population will be forced to renounce its struggle against American aggression, and that the NLF and patriotic armed forces will be forced to lay down their arms and surrender to the puppet administration set up by the U.S."

Kiem rejected the "reciprocity" formula for the mutual withdrawal of troops as an "absolutely unreasonable demand, because it places the aggressor and the victim fighting against this aggression on the same footing." Kiem said, "Logically, the U.S. having illegally introduced troops of aggression against South Vietnam, trampling the national rights of the South Vietnamese people underfoot, must naturally withdraw its troops without posing any conditions whatsoever."

Referring to Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's vague statements about "regular elections," Kiem said elections "must be held under American bayonets and arms within the framework of the present Saigon regime." This is obviously utterly unacceptable.

DRV spokesman Xuan Thuy challenged Nixon to put into effect his election-campaign promise of a "speedy quest for peace" and also challenged him to reveal the contents of the

Paris talks  
bogged  
down

There is not the slightest modicum of reason, reasonableness or verity in the U.S. position in Paris. Lodge doesn't even try to the fact that he is bored by the whole affair. ~~He is~~ He is playing at peace in Paris, biding time while Washington tries to use the appearance of strength behind the tottering Saigon gels.

How does the U.S. intend to build this strength behind the  
on regime? The U.S. Phoenix plan set as a target the  
assination of 33,000 NLF cadres this year. Individual quotes  
e assigned to CIA "advisors" who masterminded the  
ration, and who state that there are 50 assassinations per

her plan was established Nov. 1 when the bombing was halted and four-party talks were to begin. The plan called for a 1000 strategic hamlets to be placed around cities and U.S. bases in South Vietnam, was to end in January. The U.S. intended to accomplish this through massive bombings, forcing people out of their villages into new-style concentration camps (strategic hamlets) intended as "shock absorbers" to protect bases and cities.

These plans were ruined by the NLF spring offensive. NLF units got a great deal of help, and were protected by the state-filled inmates, who had been bombed into the strategic hamlets set up by General Abrams and Ambassador Bunker.

To try to win some support from the countryside, the CIA now offers one million piastres to any hamlet willing to elect a local council, and 400,000 piastres to any willing to nominate local officials. It is clear that no one wants to be elected or nominated under the sponsorship of Saigon. To encourage Saigon-style "patriotism," defectors are offered upwards of two-million piastres to indicate the locations of NLF arms dumps.

Nixon pretends that he is counting on such means to create a situation whereby the war will be de-Americanized and peace can be negotiated, leaving the new Diemist regime at the helm. This is the most absurd of illusions.

Looming over the whole situation is the stark military reality that the U.S. is already defeated militarily and is living on borrowed time. The U.S. does not have further reserves, while the NLF's exceedingly rich reserves have not yet been thrown into the spring offensive.

"Why such a lack of interest in ending this war of aggression, the administration's only proposal put forth for 'de-Americanization' and 'Vietnamization' of the war ensure that Vietnamese would fight Vietnamese under American orders.

... By their acts on the battlefield and at the conference table, the U.S. has shown that it has neither a responsible attitude nor the good will to peacefully settle the Vietnam problem. There are only noisy proposals about its desire for peace and good will."

# VIETNAM NEWS

As the National Liberation Front's spring offensive entered its tenth week, the U.S. continued to mouth its desire for a reduction in its troop commitment and an early end to the war.

At the same time the Nixon administration presented the Saigon regime with the first of three squadrons of 20 jet fighter-bombers, under cover of trying to "de-Americanize" the war.

Time magazine reports that President Nixon "has concluded that the war cannot be won within a time span that the U.S. would tolerate," and therefore he is pursuing peace with a "dual track" strategy in an "environment of pressure." This apparently refers to the barrage of propaganda about how, although the U.S. is seriously considering withdrawing a substantial number of troops from Vietnam, U.S. offensive operations would not be curtailed. (The seeming contradiction is explained by the fact that the 50,000-75,000 soldiers reportedly to be "excessed" would be "Pentagon fat," primarily desk soldiers and supply officers.)

Backup strategy seems to be the bourgeois press consensus to explain the alleged "apathy" in North Vietnam now that daily U.S. bombing raids have ceased, the enormous kill ratio of Vietnamese to U.S. troops, and the heavy casualties the NLF and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have sustained.

There has been wide publicity in the U.S. about an interview with DRV Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap, published in Europe, wherein he acknowledged the "exactness" of the U.S. claim that North Vietnam had lost half a million men.

The South Vietnamese government continued subtly to sabotage U.S. "conciliation efforts," with its arrests of 26 intellectuals and professionals charged with "having maintained private contacts with Vietcong political agents." "Dissidence and criticism" of the Thieu-Ky regime are illegal under the South Vietnamese constitution. Saigon police sources hinted that many of the 26 would soon be released as an "act of clemency"—after strong political protests had been registered by Vietnamese and American liberals.

The following U.S. casualty figures are based on government statistics. They are lower than those claimed by the NLF. Figures cover the war from Jan. 1, 1961 through April 12, 1969. Figures in parentheses show increases from April 6 through April 12, 1969; the increase in missing and captured was not available. The increase in wounded includes only persons who required hospitalization; usually this figure includes several hundred non-hospital cases.

Killed: 34,067 (204) "Noncombat" deaths: 5696 (40) Wounded: 216,447 (96)  
Missing, captured: 1072.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) (100-449698)

5/19/69

SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (100-45316)

COUNTERTERRORISM PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*COINTEL PRO NEW LEFT*

Re Chicago letter 4/30/69, under the first of the above two captions and Chicago letter, 5/1/69, under the caption as carried above.

The referenced letter of May 1, 1969, was directed toward inhibiting the embryonic alliance formed locally recently between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It was suggested that efforts be made to exploit the coalition by depicting the working relationship as an effort on the part of SDS to utilize the BPP as a mercenary group fighting a black war for white liberation.

A careful review and analysis of BPP activities locally since relet of April 30, 1969, reflects that the tenuous working relationship between these two groups continues to exist and the activities and programs as recommended in Chicago letter of May 1, 1969, continue to be valid. Chicago will await the Bureau's response to this recommendation prior to initiating any efforts in this direction.

In recent weeks also the local BPP group has effected a similar coalition with the Young Lords, a near north side Puerto Rican youth gang and the Young Patriots, the latter an off-shoot of Jobs or Income Now (JOIN), an SDS affiliated group of young whites. Chicago will follow this and related developments closely and as the opportunity presents itself will submit appropriate counterintelligence suggestions.

① - Bureau (RM)

4 - Chicago

(1 - 157-

(1 - 100-

(YOUNG LORDS)

(YOUNG PATRIOTS)

NOT RECORDED  
184 MAY 22 1969

JCS/bab  
(8)

ORIGINAL FILED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 3/31/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Chicago letter to Director, 12/31/68.

[REDACTED]

An article appearing in the "Chicago Seed", a local underground newspaper, indicated extensive fraudulent use of telephone credit cards. A copy of this has been provided to [REDACTED], Illinois Bell Telephone (IBT) Company, who advised that he was unaware of any such unauthorized use of telephone credit cards, however, he advised he would check into the allegation. Chicago is maintaining liaison with IBT, and will submit further recommendations where appropriate.

## 2. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

A cartoon pamphlet captioned "New Laugh Notes" was anonymously distributed on Chicago area campuses and copies were forwarded to New York, San Diego and San Francisco. All copies distributed in the Chicago area were immediately removed, however, sources have not reported any reaction to them at this time. Chicago continues to follow this action, and will report any response noted.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

REC 74

RHW/mmg  
(3)

APR 3 1969



PR8

1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 100-45316

The Bureau approved and reproduced a pamphlet of cartoons titled "Into the Streets, a Handbook for Revolting Kids." This pamphlet will be distributed to moderate student and civic groups to alert them to the true nature of SDS as a group of young, disruptive radicals.

### 3. TANGIBLE RESULTS

An anonymous mailing to several SDS members of a letter attacking the proposed Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) of MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, SDS, was reported by [REDACTED], to have caused considerable consternation on the part of KLONSKY. KLONSKY felt that this letter was prepared by a dissident staff member who he would "find and remove".

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 2/20/69

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

ReBulet 1/13/69 and mylet 1/21/69.

Copies of pamphlet captioned "New Laugh Notes" were sent to New York, San Diego and San Francisco for further distribution in their areas. To date no positive results reported from those offices.

In Chicago copies were distributed on various campuses, including posting in conspicuous places. Copies were also anonymously mailed to the national office of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

All copies placed on campus immediately disappeared. Informants have reported no reaction to the pamphlet. No reaction from the SDS national office has been reported, however, it is noted that the SDS national officers against whom this pamphlet was directed have been away traveling.

Chicago will continue to follow and will report any results noted.

- 100-98 (941)  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - New York (RM)  
2 - San Diego (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RHW:meh

(9)

REC 82

100-449698-9-37

12 FEB 24 1969

INT. SEC.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

Director, FBI (~~100-449898~~) *789*

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT *100-449698-9-36*  
*REC-8*

Re your airtel 2/13/69 and its enclosure.

The Bureau has no objection to your office furnishing a copy of the article appearing in "Chicago Seed" issue of 1/10-24/69 concerning "Telephone Credit Cards" to an established source at the Illinois Bell Telephone Security Office. Since the telephone company is aware of this situation, it would appear that the furnishing of this article would not be of any particular benefit to it. You should maintain contact with your established sources in this field for any action contemplated.

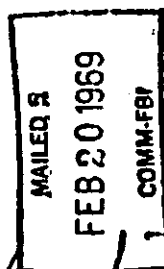
As the telephone company would have to be the one to initiate any action concerning prosecution in this matter, your office should take no steps in regard to suggesting to the company to take action by pressing charges against those individuals involved in illegally using credit cards.

If it is determined that action is warranted by the FBI under any Federal statute, you should of course advise the Bureau under appropriate caption as well as the above caption.

1 - *[redacted]* (Route through for review)

WNP:lvh *[initials]*  
(6)

SEE NOTE - PAGE TWO



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Letter to SAC, Chicago  
RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

NOTE:

Chicago has requested Bureau authority to furnish a copy of article in an underground newspaper concerning illegal use of telephone credit cards by members of Students for a Democratic Society to reliable contact in Illinois Bell Telephone Security Office. This article also noted a member of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was called in for questioning by FBI concerning this matter. Chicago has advised it has not undertaken any investigation concerning illegal use of telephone credit cards. Chicago will follow for any additional information in this matter.

FBI

Date: 2/13/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)  
**AIRTEL**Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

Enclosed is one copy of an article appearing in the "Chicago Seed" volume 3, #5, 1/10-24/69 on page 6 titled "Telephone Credit Cards."

This article indicates that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) members have been illegally using telephone credit cards. It states that \$70,000 in calls have been made on the Dow (Chemical Company) card, but that no action was being taken since neither Dow or "ITT" would press charges. This article indicates further that at least one individual was questioned by the Bureau.

Check of Chicago indices does not indicate any investigation undertaken by this division in such a matter.

If the facts, as stated, are accurate, even if there is no Bureau jurisdiction it would appear that through liaison with DOW, "ITT," and any other victims of such illegal use of telephone credit cards should be urged to press criminal or civil suits against these individuals.

If such action would not jeopardize criminal or civil action now pending, Bureau authority is requested to furnish a copy of this article to a reliable contact at the Illinois Bell Telephone Security Office for their information and to determine if they have any further information concerning this matter.

3 - Bureau (Enc 1)(RM)  
1 - Chicago  
RHW:meh  
(4)

REC-8

31 FEB 15 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

# of the Regime

## telephone 'credit' cards

fore the Age of Chaos. Czar  
ule the country before its dis-  
talled in a climate of mount-  
to legitimize his shaky as-  
married his younger daugh-  
the Great Lame Czar in an  
me of the dying one's charis-

rrered in a metropolis located  
of the old kingdom. 500 duke  
ed the ceremony, while the  
thin the confines of their heat-  
st list was a roster of the old  
ne-Caller, Prince Dewey,  
Kennedy and Mitchell and Ro-  
ociated with the czar's rise to

ted themselves even as the  
two youths in matrimony.  
rformed in accordance with  
sect, yet the Czar was charged  
geared to the extermination  
nes. The young woman, asked  
anspired when entering and  
riage, responded that it was  
ndle without a heart attack,"  
l of the condition of the Great

wedding received the accolades  
s all over the nation left the  
the streets in celebration,  
l citizenry rejoiced over the  
Gosden, famous for his por-  
hero "Amos." The Latin  
as to conjoin with the invita-  
on servants. Yet, if we are  
indsight, perhaps the most  
litting the 200 Janissaries who  
Mrs. Walt Disney, wife of  
yland.

is discussions, ancillary e-  
natic of larger trends. Cot-  
mentioned that the song played  
cess was a popular tune en-  
Dream," an apt song for the  
ar.

Oswald Spengler

New Left Notes seems to have unearthed some  
indications that the liberate-your-telephone game  
may be coming to an end. According to them:

1. At some point, about \$70,000 worth of calls  
was made on Dow's card. They were pissed, can-  
celled the card, but refused to press charges for  
interstate fraud.
2. Since April, the telephone company has se-  
parate codes in addition to just the number. If you  
don't automatically give the other code, they know  
it's a phony and tape the company for identifica-  
tion purposes.
3. All of the credit cards commonly used by the  
movement are known. Some of them have been out  
of date since 1963.

A leak inside ITT told us that names were being  
kept; when the source read off the names, they were  
mostly movement people. Later a guy from SNCC  
was called in for questioning by the FBI, ITT de-  
tectives, and local cops. He denied everything,  
but they played back some tapes showing evidence.  
Dow and ITT won't press charges, so the FBI can't  
yet people just yet. The assorted cops pointed out  
that national SDS people are the biggest offenders.  
If use of phony credit cards continues, they may  
press charges. Under the new crime bill, it ap-  
pears that the tapes can be used as evidence in  
court.

## the nightmare is real

A year ago we thought we were paranoid. "The  
phone's bugged." Actually, we were sensing fur-  
ther than we could see. The Justice Department  
has admitted to carrying out "electronic surveil-  
lance" of Jerry Rubin.

U.S. Court of Appeals 4th Circuit document  
12660 refers to "sealed envelopes" containing  
transcripts of Rubin's conversations. The docu-  
ment was uncovered by the research staff of Ru-  
bin's lawyer in connection with Jerry's appeal of  
his Pentagon conviction.

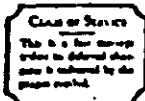
As usual, Jerry is optimistic. The legality of  
electronic surveillance evidence is tenuous. The  
sealed envelopes may yet be turned into a weapon  
for Jerry's defense. The outcome of Rubin's case,  
and of many others, will depend on the political  
mood of the nation, and on the level of our activity,  
LNS/NY

Anyone arrested in Chicago  
al runs the risk of spending time  
y Jail while awaiting bail or trans-  
prison. Having spent a weekend  
hat it isn't the chamber of horrors  
recent press articles, but it is all  
ollowing is intended to give you  
Cook County an advance look at  
rison is really like.

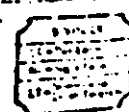
The first thing to know is how  
Cook County. Draft arrests in  
urred at least a month after the  
refusal, so you will have time to  
rangements well in advance. The  
money (from \$100 to \$250 so far)  
ily available through personal fin-  
anizational arrangements. If you  
y on a weekday, as is the FBI's  
having made these arrangements  
will not have to worry about jail  
months.

If you are caught off guard, he  
eds decide not to release you on  
nizance, then you will be process-  
Federal Building and transferred  
to Cook County Jail at 25th & Cal-  
you will be shuttled from cell to  
printing, mug shots, physicals  
regimentation and unnecessary  
four to five hour process remind-  
pens during an army physical. C-  
visible in Cook County.

After processing, prisoners are  
groups based on the nature of the  
them, are searched again, given  
moved to the designated tier. The  
is shaped like a long rectangle of  
ing recreation area on one end and  
man cells for about 60 prisoners  
The Federal Tier is considered  
the jail. Boredom and the hostile  
mates are the two main problems.  
terrible meals there's little to do  
play cards and dominoes, or read  
books with you. The lack of rest  
that I was able to bring in a copy of  
Breaks and circulate it among the  
Visitors were allowed only twice  
was there, and there was no phone  
prisoners to call out. A single  
vided for a prisoner to inform the  
his whereabouts, so making a  
of arrest is very important. The  
the time of arrest or at the Fed-  
Not Wait until you're taken to C-



100-4421-8-9-36  
**WESTERN UNION**  
TELEGRAM



TO: JOYVA YAHVEN  
CARE: CELESTIAL HOTEL (SUITE 6666)

1189

SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

3/17/69

EX-110 REC-121  
Director, FBI (100-449698)

100-449698-9-35

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 2/7/69.

Authority is granted to anonymously distribute the pamphlet suggested in relet to those groups suggested in your letter.

Assure that all necessary steps are taken to protect the identity of the Bureau as the source of these pamphlets.

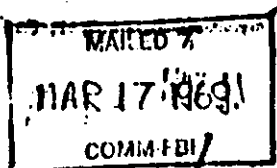
Fifty copies of the pamphlet have been reproduced and you will be submitted to you under separate cover.

RHH:jes  
(5)

NOTE:

Chicago submitted a roughdraft pamphlet containing cartoons which portray SDS as a group of spoiled infants. Chicago suggested that pamphlets be made up and distributed anonymously to student groups, appropriate high school and university administrators, and civic groups having influence in high schools and universities. Since this pamphlet ridicules SDS, it may be effective in pointing out to the above groups the absurd activities often resorted to by SDS. The Mechanical Section has prepared copies of this which will be sent by separate cover.  
(Copy attached for ready reference)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAR 24 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 2/7/69

FROM : SA [Signature] CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

Enclosed for the Bureau are two Xerox copies of a pamphlet captioned "Into the Streets, A Handbook for Revolting Kids," and an envelop containing the originals of the cartoons used.

It is felt that a pamphlet of satire such as this would be most effective in the hands of moderate student groups as a means of alerting them to the true nature SDS as an irresponsible, immature group of destructive radicals.

The following counterintelligence program is recommended:

1. The Bureau is requested to print copies of this pamphlet, using a type face for the text that would be appropriate for a childrens book. The Bureau is also requested to print the captions under the cartoons to provide uniformity.

2. The Bureau is further requested to assemble and bind these pamphlets either by stapling or by binding in paper back form.

Chicago would distribute pamphlets to moderate student groups, appropriate high school and university administrators and trustees, civic groups influencing high schools and universities (such as PTA groups), (anonymously).

It is felt that a publication such as this will be read and will at least cause responsible students, faculty and civic groups to look further into SDS and take action to curtail their activities. Should copies reach SDS, it should cause concern and embarrassment to the organization.

The Chicago Division would like to anonymously distribute approximately 50 copies. If the Bureau concurs with Chicago that this pamphlet could also be utilized by other divisions, additional copies could be printed.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 3) ENCLOSURE

1 - Chicago

RHW:meb

(3)



17 FEB 12 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Del To Dir 3/17/69

100-449698-9-35

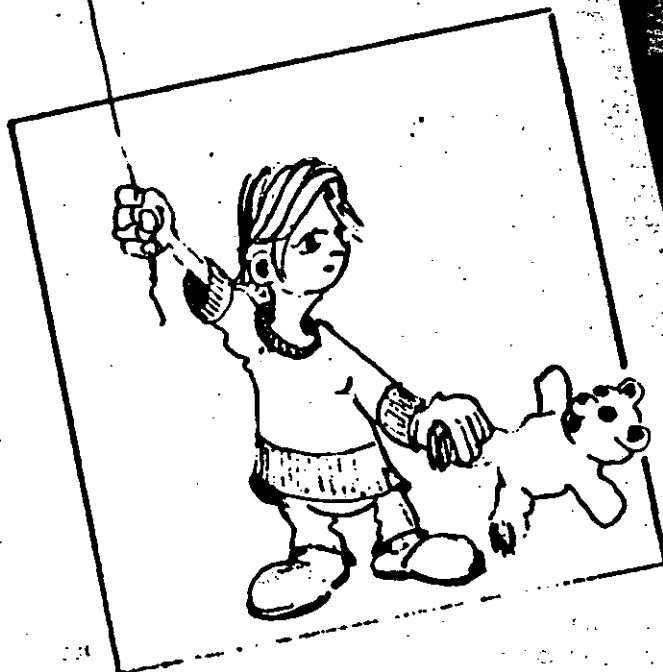
INT 3/18

CG 100-45316

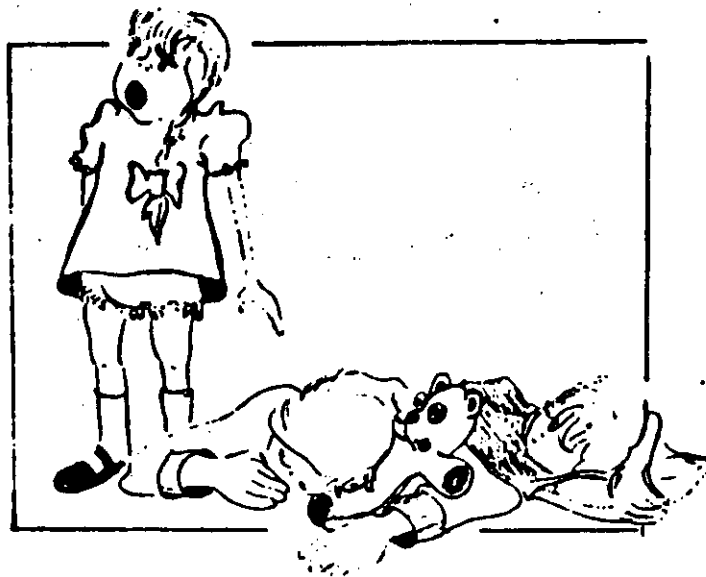
If the Bureau desires changes made to any of the cartoons or additional cartoons prepared, advise Chicago. If the Bureau is unable to print this pamphlet, it is requested that the original cartoons be returned to Chicago.



A HANDBOOK FOR  
REVOLTING KIDS



~~100-449698-9-35~~  
~~100-449698-9-35~~



HE WANTS TO CALL IT A LOVE-IN  
INSTEAD OF NAP TIME.

Once upon a time  
there was a  
little boy. He was not  
happy with the way  
things were being  
run....

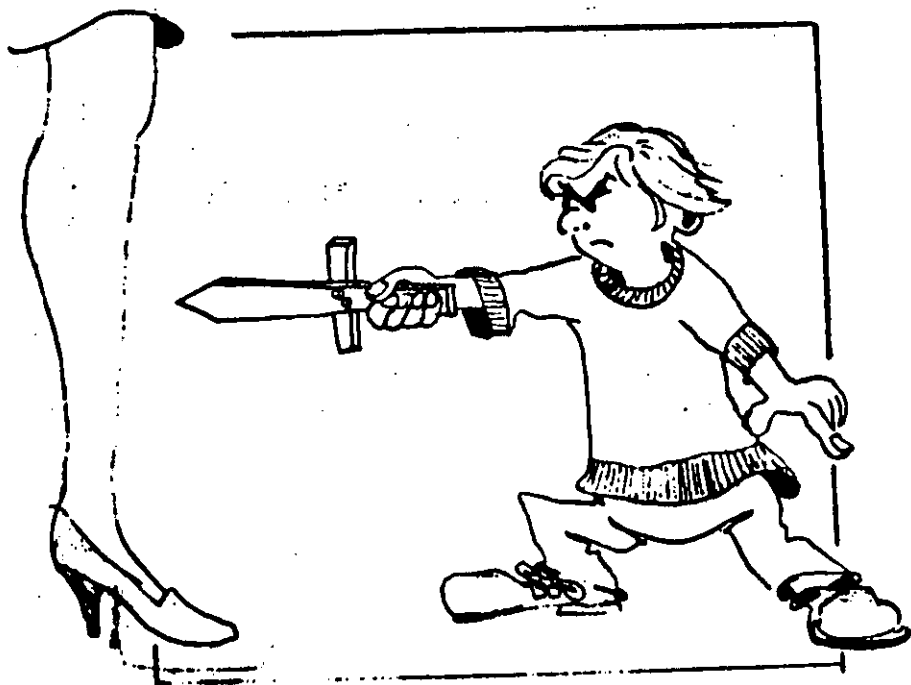


He and his little friends  
protested ....



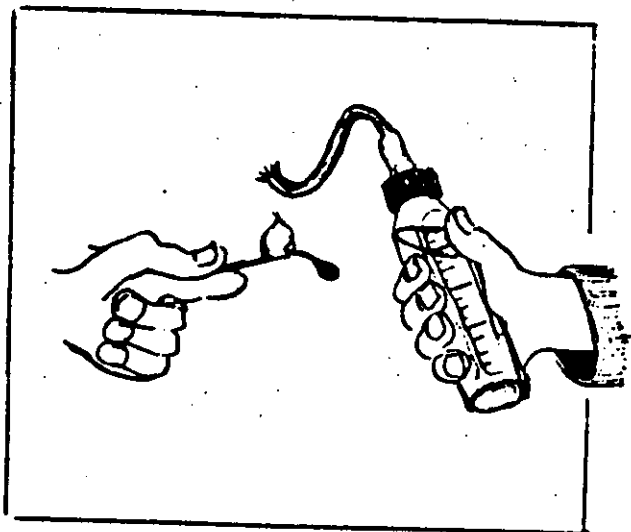
I'D LIKE TO GO, BUT MOMMY  
WON'T LET ME CROSS THE STREET

and demonstrat



UP AGAINST THE WALL, MOTHER

When they didn't get  
their way they  
became more militar



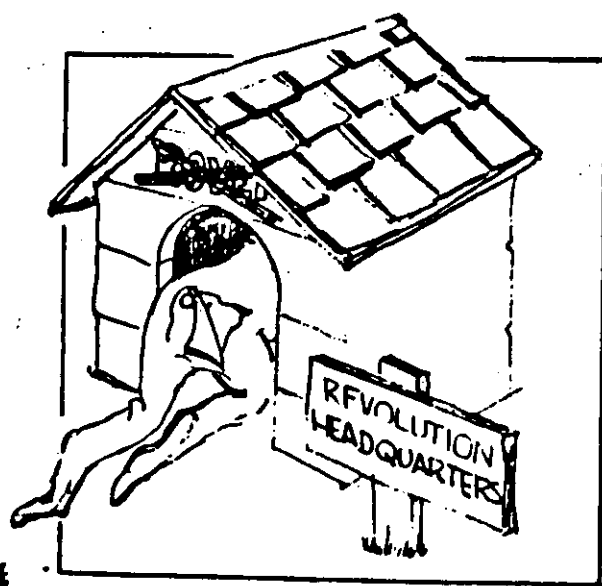
COME ON EASY LIGHT MY FIRE

...and still more  
militant.



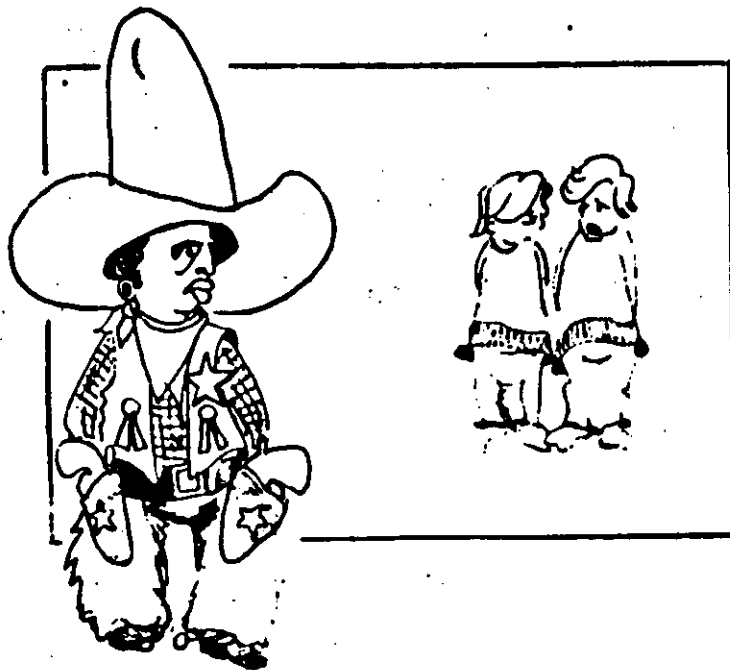
I'M REVOLTING !

When he still did not  
get his way, he decided  
to revolt



CAN I PLAY TOO?

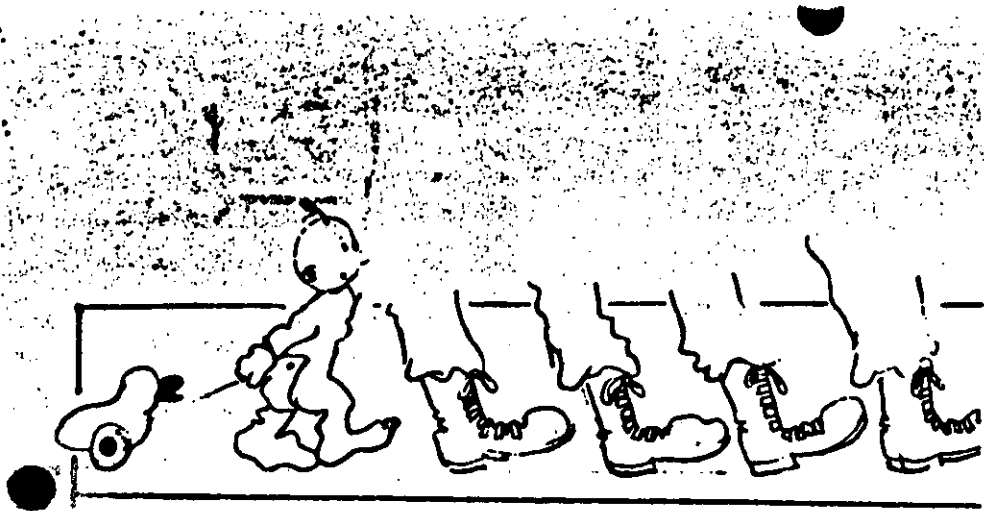
He recruited other  
little boys...



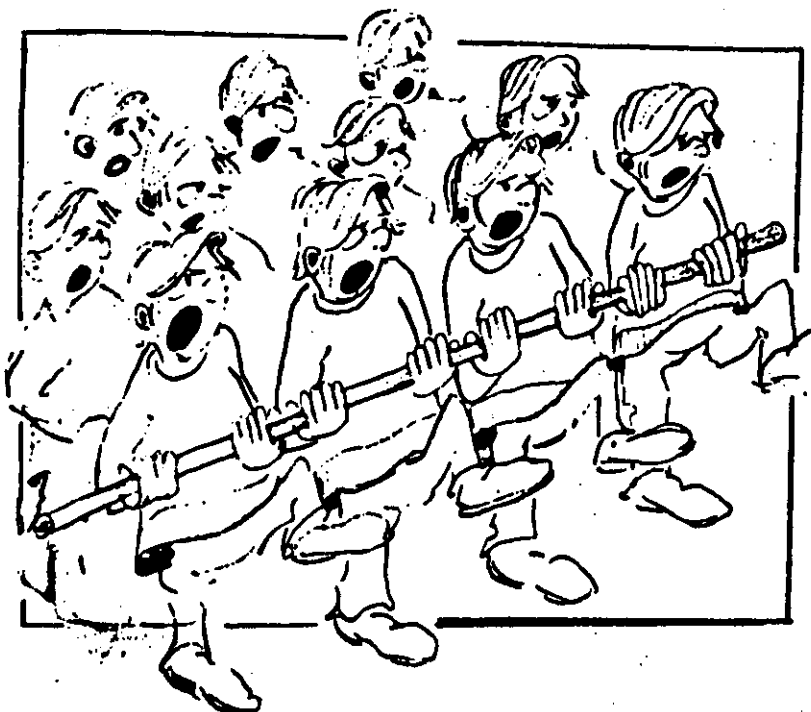
carefully selecting  
his troops



— He issued them  
equipment, ...

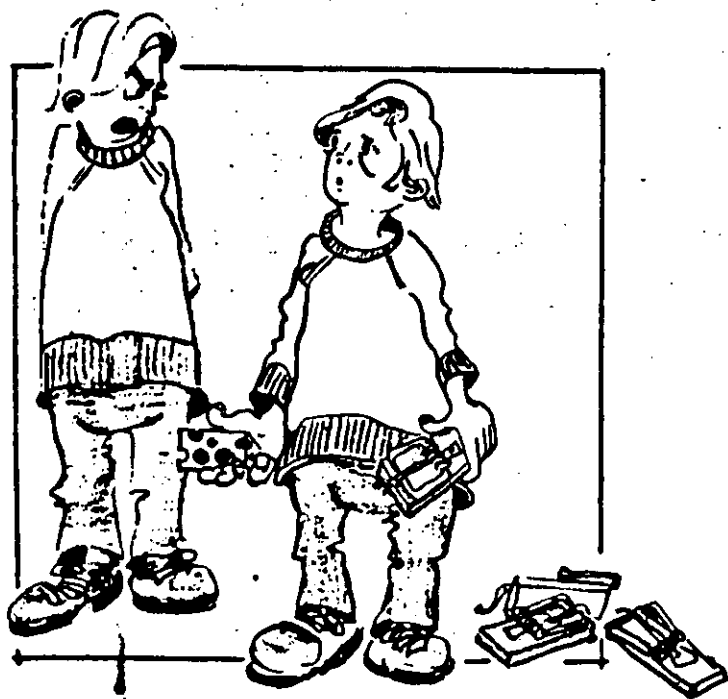


HUP - TWO - THREE - FIVE - HUP - TWO



WASH-ROOM, WASH-ROOM, WASH-ROOM

and trained them.



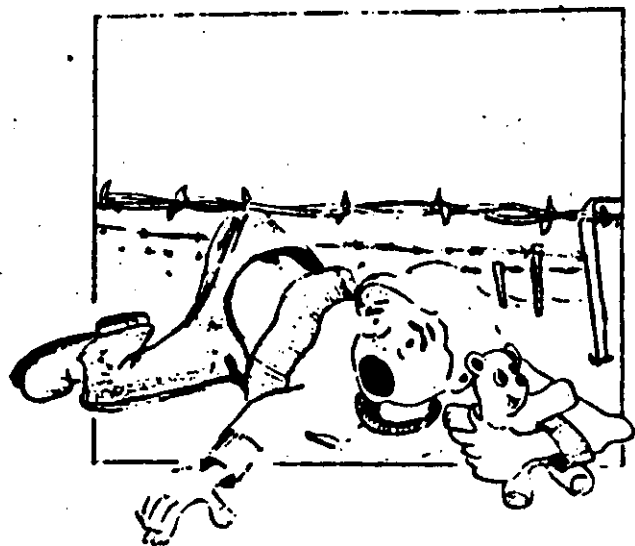
I SAID, "PROTECTION FROM MACE"

...and trained them..



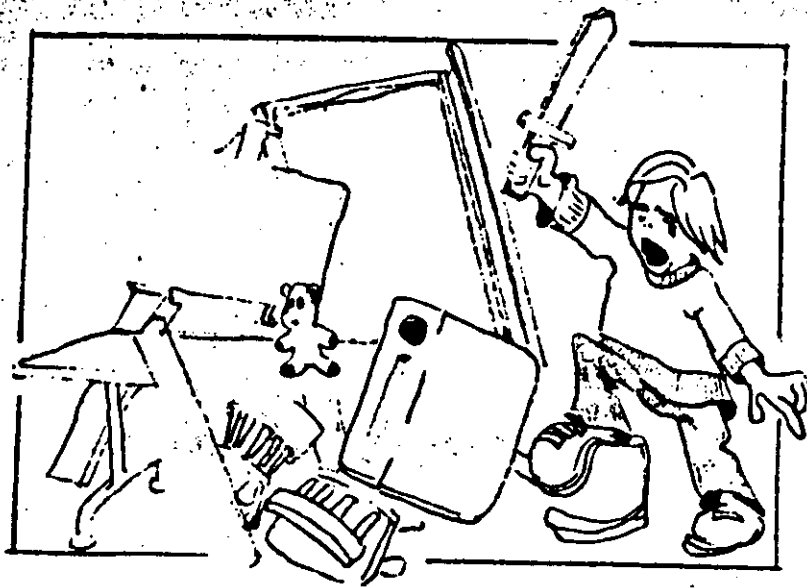
I WARNED YOU SHAPE UP OR  
SHIP OUT

He eliminated the  
misfits.



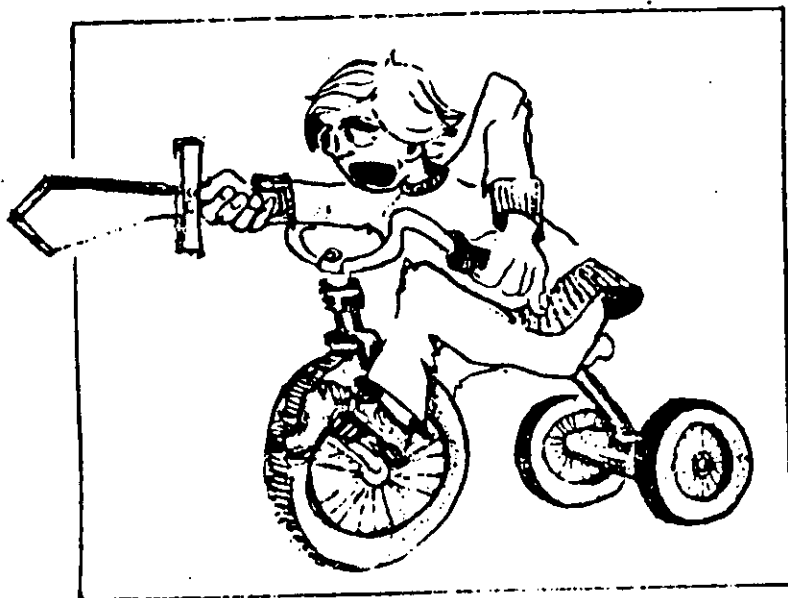
I SURRENDER, I SURRENDER.

Overcoming many  
obstacles...



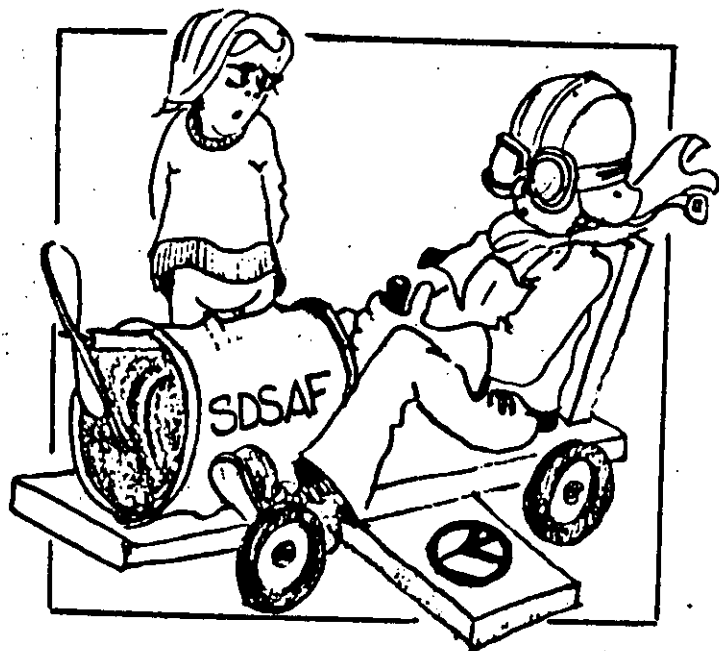
he was finally ready  
to attack.

TO THE BARRICADES!



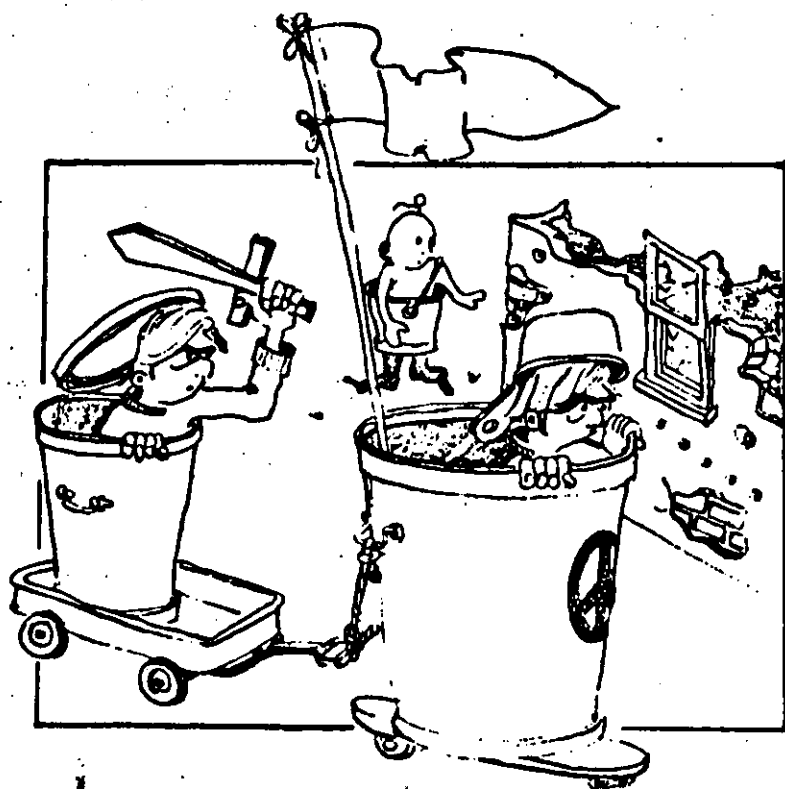
CHARGE

He led a combined  
assault



IT WILL NEVER GET OFF THE GROUND

Of air...

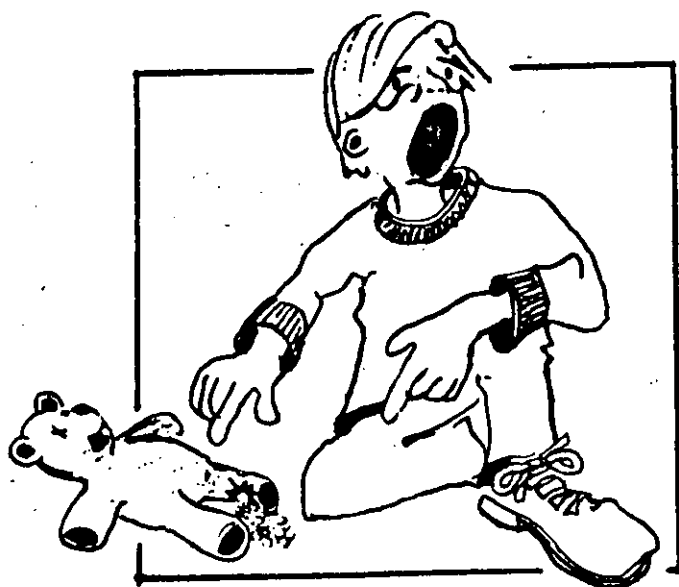


armored ...



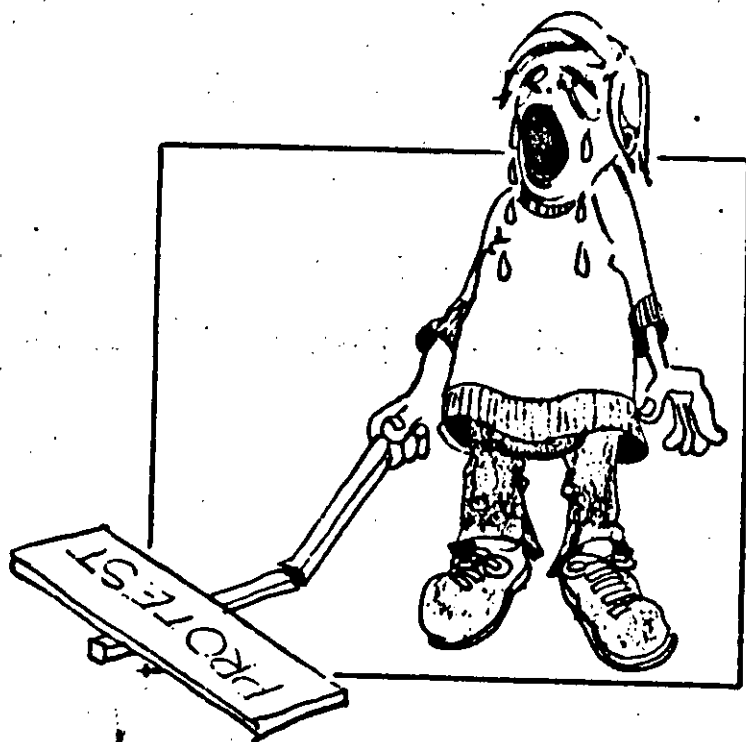
RUB-A-DUB DUB, THERE'S A SUB IN THE TUB

and naval forces



MEDIC!

It was not easy,  
they suffered  
casualties...



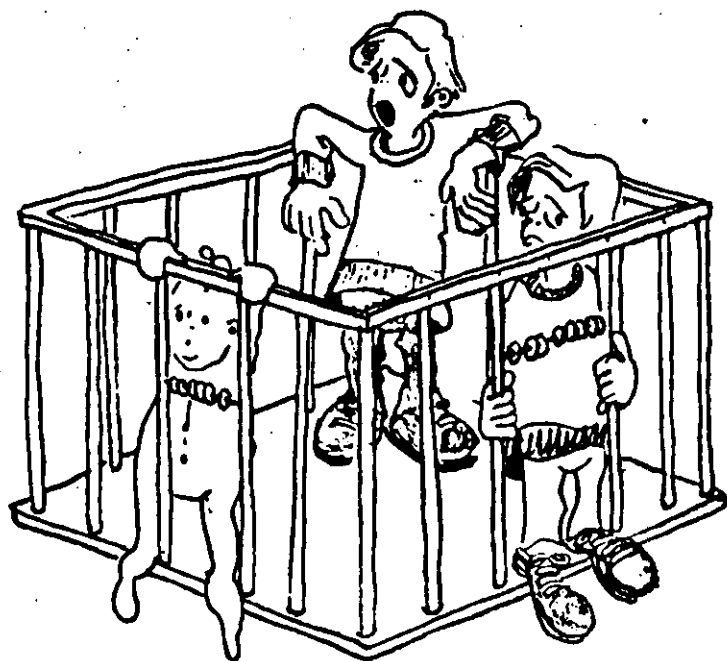
THEY BROKE MY SIGN - 'SOS'

...and more casualties



I JUST THREW MY TEDDY BEAR!

They suffered  
set backs,



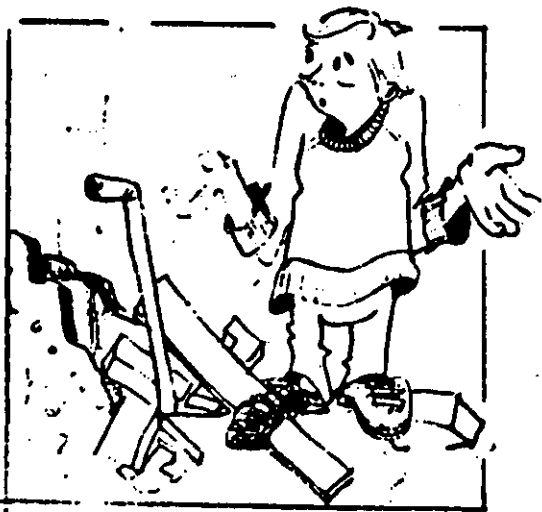
...and some fell  
captive to the  
establishment.

I KNOW MY RIGHTS. I WANT A  
LAWYER -



OLLY, OLLY OXEN FREE

In spite of the problems  
he swept to victory.



WE WON, NOW WHAT DO WE DO



oval: To the victor go the spoils...



and all shall receive  
their just reward.

THE END



Date

TO:

☒ Director

Att.: INTERNAL SECURITY

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

FILE

Title

RE:

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial #

☐ Post

☐ Recharge

☒ Return

☐ Send to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

14 FEB 27 1969

SAC

Office

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

*R. J. ... Bureau*TO : SAC, Chicago (Your file 100-45316) DATE: 2/17/69FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-449698-9)Room No. 902-9&D☒ Post in file and  
destroy 0-1  
(For SOG use  
only)SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFTReBulet 1/13/69.Advise of any reaction noted.☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.☐☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted☐ report☐ letter☐ 90-day progress letter☐ will be submitted

Reporting employee \_\_\_\_\_

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal☐ Inquiry☐ Investigation☐ Prosecution☐ airtel☐ letterhead memo☐ 5. Submit ☐ report☐ letter☐ 90-day progress letter

by \_\_\_\_\_

(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-459698)-

FROM : *[Signature]* CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTEL-PRO-NEW LEFT

DATE: January 23, 1969

Re Bureau letter dated 11/14/68.

An anonymous letter captioned "Betrayal At The SDS NO" was mailed to various figures in SDS.

*[Redacted]* a source close to the national office of SDS advised that the reaction of several members was that this had been mailed by the PLP faction of SDS.

*[Redacted]*

*[Redacted]*

Chicago will continue to follow this matter with sources, and will advise the Bureau of any further results.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
RHW/kmh  
(3)

REC-64

100-449698-9-34



61 FEB 4 1969

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

## Memorandum

TO : SAC, Chicago (Your file 100-45316) DATE: 1/9/69

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-449698 - 9)

Room No. 902-98D

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

☒ Post in file and  
destroy 0-1  
(For SOG use  
only)

ReCGairtel 12/10/68.

- ☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

- ☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted  
☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted

Reporting employee

- ☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

- ☒ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☒ Investigation ☐ Prosecution  
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo  
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

may be using private foundation  
to finance New Left organizations.  
Investigation continuing. Letter follows  
with full details.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTEL PRO - NEW LEFT

DATE: 1/21/69

Re Chicago airtel to Director dated 1/8/69 and Bureau letter to Chicago dated 1/13/69.

Enclosed for New York, San Diego and San Francisco are fifteen (15) copies each of a pamphlet titled "New Laugh Notes".

For the information of San Francisco referenced Bureau letter granted authority to distribute the enclosed pamphlet to selected persons involved in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), to widen the split developing these groups.

All offices receiving copies of the enclosure should distribute them to selected figures, in such a manner that it appears that PLP is responsible for the preparation of the pamphlet.

Chicago is distributing copies in places on campuses in the Chicago area, and will mail copies to individuals at the SDS National Office.

New York is requested to distribute at least one copy to PLP headquarters.

San Diego is requested to distribute a copy in such a way that it will get to [REDACTED] SDS Internal Organization Secretary.

For the information of the Bureau, copies are being sent to San Francisco in view of the activity of PLP in that area. Distribution will be left to the discretion of San Francisco UACB. This was not included in the original recommendation.

- 100-449698-9-33
- (2) - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - New York (Enc. 15) (RM)
  - 2 - San Diego (Enc. 15) (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 15) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago

REC 16

11 JAN 22 1969

RHW:cmm

(9)

CG 100-45316

All offices should report the results of this distribution and reaction there to the Chicago Division. If additional copies are required, and cannot be successfully reproduced from the copies provided, Chicago will supply additional copies on request.

Every precaution should be taken to insure the Bureau is protected as a source of this pamphlet.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

DATE: 1/14/69

ReBulet 12/23/68.

Contact with Chicago Police Intelligence Unit and district covering area where Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) national office is located disclose no reports made to Chicago Police Department concerning vandalism of SDS national office or harassment of SDS personnel in the vicinity of the national office.

Contact with sources familiar with the SDS national office reveal that for approximately the last six months, persons entering or leaving the national office have been subjected to verbal abuse almost daily, by Negro residents of the area. There is no indication of actual assaults or violence directed toward any of these persons.

For the same period of time, rocks have been thrown through the windows of the national office nearly once a week. As a result of this, protective bars and screens have been installed on the windows of the national office. A heavy oak door has been installed with a peep-hole opening from the inside. A heavy bar has been installed to reinforce this door.

Bureau letter of December 26, 1968, directed that no direct action be encouraged against SDS through the use of racial informants. This letter authorized the use of informants to encourage the idea that SDS is a racist organization. This is being done by the Chicago Division.

Chicago following this situation closely. If further opportunities appear, Chicago will promptly submit appropriate recommendations.

(2) Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

REC 11

EX-113

100-449698-9-31  
JAN 16 1969

RHW/rms

JAN 24 1969



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

1/13/69

Director, FBI (100-449698) *741*

*100-449698-9-30*

1 - 

*REC-62*  
COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReCGairtel 1/8/69.

Authority is granted to reproduce and to anonymously distribute the pamphlet enclosed with reairtel. Make certain that it cannot be traced to the Bureau. The pamphlet shows a great deal of thought and ingenuity on the part of your office and should cause some consternation among SDS and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) members.

All offices advise the Bureau of the results obtained by this mailing.

2 - New York (100-163303)

2 - San Diego

BAW:jes  
(8)

NOTE:

There is currently a battle raging between the PLP and other SDS factions as to which will control SDS. Criticism has been levelled at current SDS officials, such as Mike Klonsky and Bernardine Dohrn, by PLP members. The CG Office has drawn up a pamphlet ridiculing SDS officials and indicating that they are running over the PLP faction. This pamphlet, which consists of cartoons, is extremely well done and should cause non-PLP SDS members to pinpoint the PLP as its source. This could widen the rift between SDS and PLP. Copies of the pamphlet will also be distributed by the New York and San Diego Offices as this is in line with PLP distribution techniques and would further indicate PLP as the source of this pamphlet.

MAILED 7

JAN 13 1969

COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*37* *1/13/69* *300* *BT*  
54 JAN 24 1969  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 1/8/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of a pamphlet titled "SDS, New Laugh Notes."

A split has developed between the SDS national office and a Progressive Labor Party (PLP) faction of SDS. This was aggravated at the recent SDS meeting, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

This pamphlet was prepared as a satire of the SDS newspaper "New Left Notes."

It is felt that the cartoons in the pamphlet will be understood by members of SDS, without further explanation; however, the following comments are provided to the Bureau for clarity.

Page 1 - A copy of the banner of the "New Left Notes" with the word "Laugh" substituted for "Left" and the word "right" inserted in the phrase "let the right people decide."

Page 2 is a cartoon depicting BERNARDINE DOHRN, SDS National Interorganizational Secretary, indicating that she uses SDS funds for travel for personal interest.

- (3) - Bureau (Enc. 2)(RM)  
1 - New York (Info)(RM)  
1 - San Diego (Info)(RM)  
3 - Chicago

1-100-40903 (SDS)

1-100- (PLP)

RHW:mab  
(8)

EX 103 100-449698-9-30  
100-449698-9-30  
32  
Incl. typ 902 OR

INT. SEC.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

BAW:jaw  
2-56 1/13/69

Page 3 depicts MIKE KLONSKY censoring the writings of FRED GORDON. KLONSKY is National Secretary of SDS. GORDON, SDS Internal Education Secretary, complained "In particular Mike Klonsky and Bernardine Dohrn and the NIC have exercised political censorship over the printing of an excellent work-in pamphlet. It also seems likely that they will prevent the printing of a pamphlet I have written." ("New Left Notes," 12/18/68, page 4)

Page 4 again attacks DOHRN for using SDS funds for personal travel.

Page 5 attacks DOHRN for being basically interested in financial gain, rather than any idealistic goal.

Page 6 depicts TOM HAYDEN as being a CIA puppet.

Page 7 again attacks DOHRN for using SDS funds for personal travel.

Page 8 depicts a "typical" SDS national office reaction to the rift that has developed between SDS and the pro-PLP faction developing within SDS.

It is felt that the distribution of this pamphlet could cause a great deal of embarrassment to SDS leaders, particularly DOHRN and KLONSKY. Further such a pamphlet, even if the readers are not familiar with the personalities involved, will tend to ridicule SDS. It is believed that the PLP faction of SDS will be pinpointed as the source of this publication, which will widen the rift between the SDS and the PLP faction of SDS. A recent mailing of an anonymous letter, under the Counterintelligence Program has been attributed to the PLP faction by members of the National Office.

The following distribution procedures are recommended:

A supply of copies be placed in strategic places in various Chicago area campuses by informants.

Copies be mailed to selected figures in the SDS National Office.

Copies be sent to the San Diego and New York offices for distribution to appropriate sources of their division for distribution to PLP and SDS figures in the area. These locations

CG 100-45316

for further dissemination would be in line with PLP distribution and would further tend to identify PLP as a source.

Every precaution will be taken to insure that the Bureau is protected as a source of these cartoons. They will be xeroxed onto a multilith master and reproduced on non-watermarked paper.

The Bureau is requested to expedite approval of the distribution of this pamphlet so that it can be circulated while the SDS-PLP rift is a major topic of discussion, so that maximum advantage will be gained.

# SDS NEW LAUGH NOTES

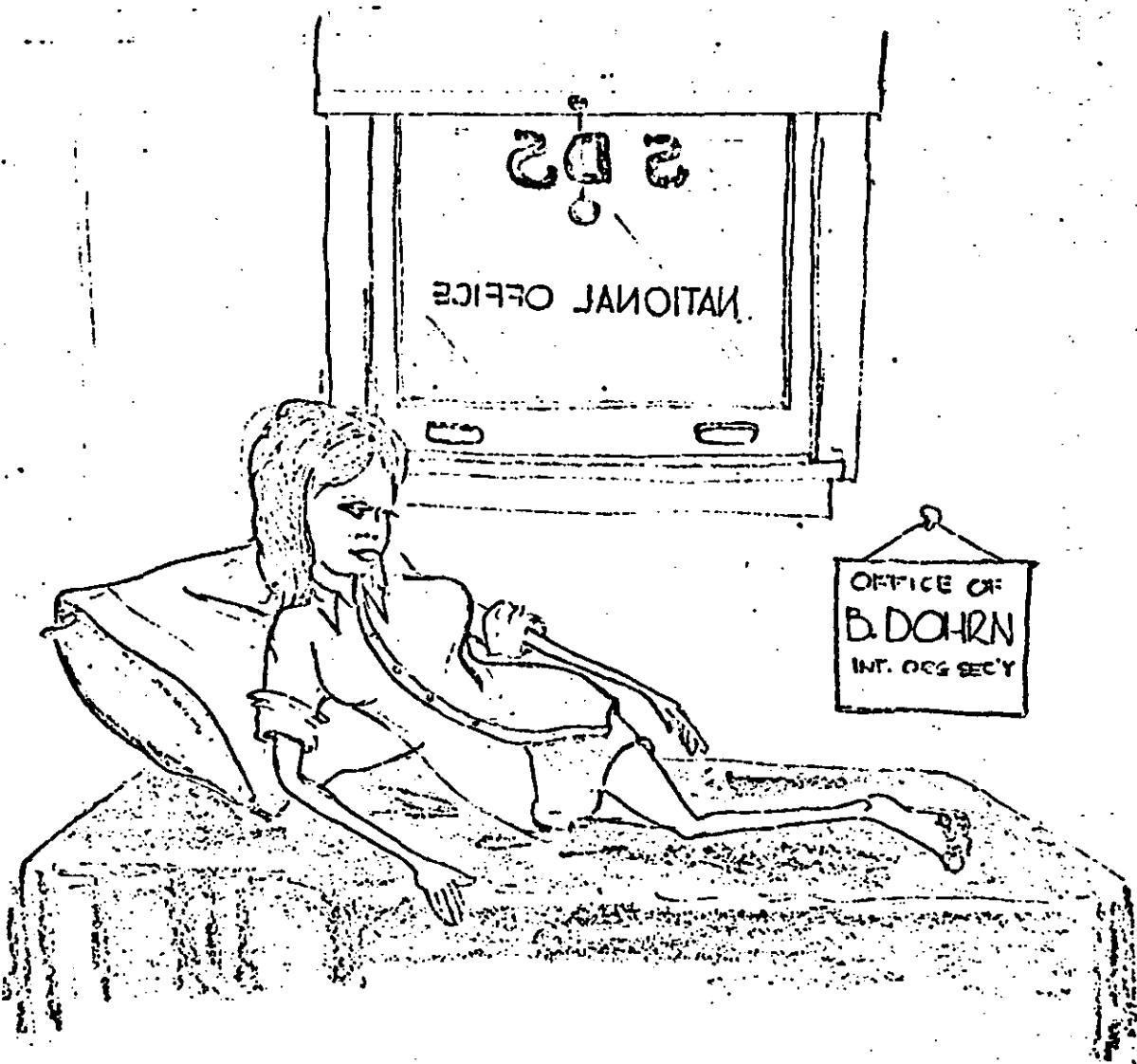
VOL 1, NUMBER 1

RIGHT  
LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

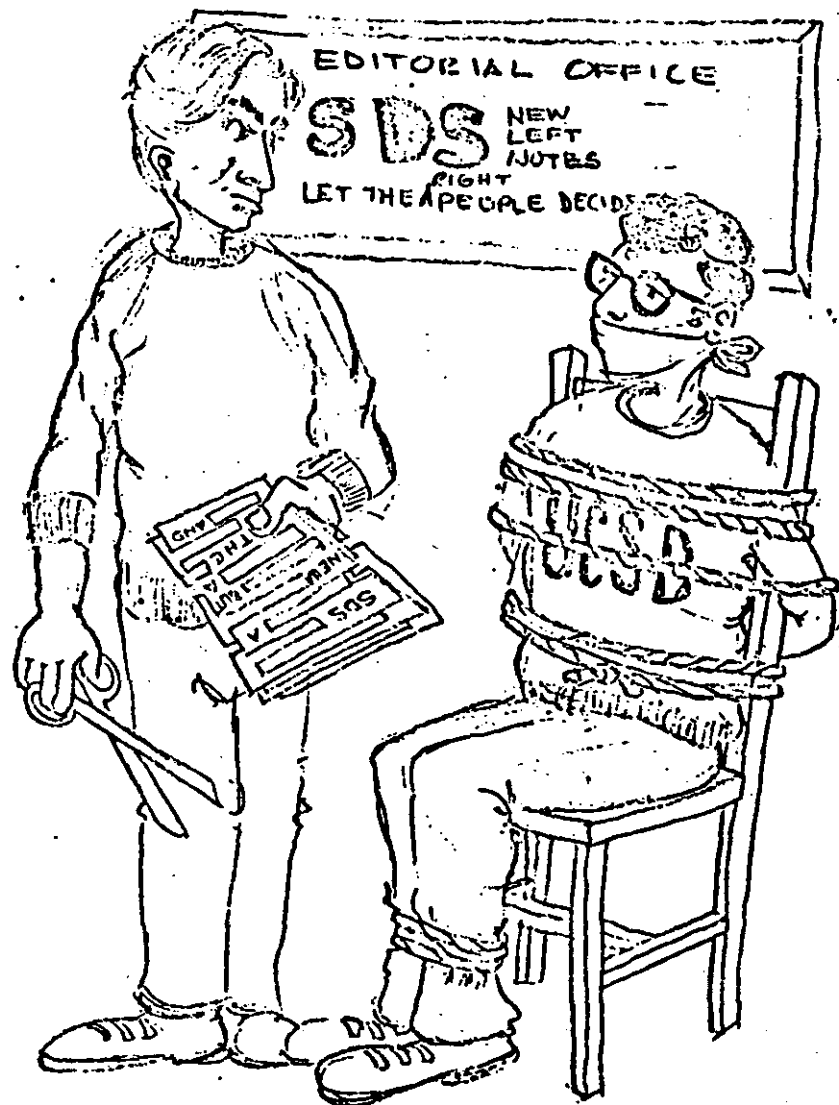
100-449698-9-30

1

CLOSURE



LET'S RAISE THE DUES, I WANT TO GO TO THE RIVIERA



FRED, YOU KNOW YOU CAN PRINT ANYTHING

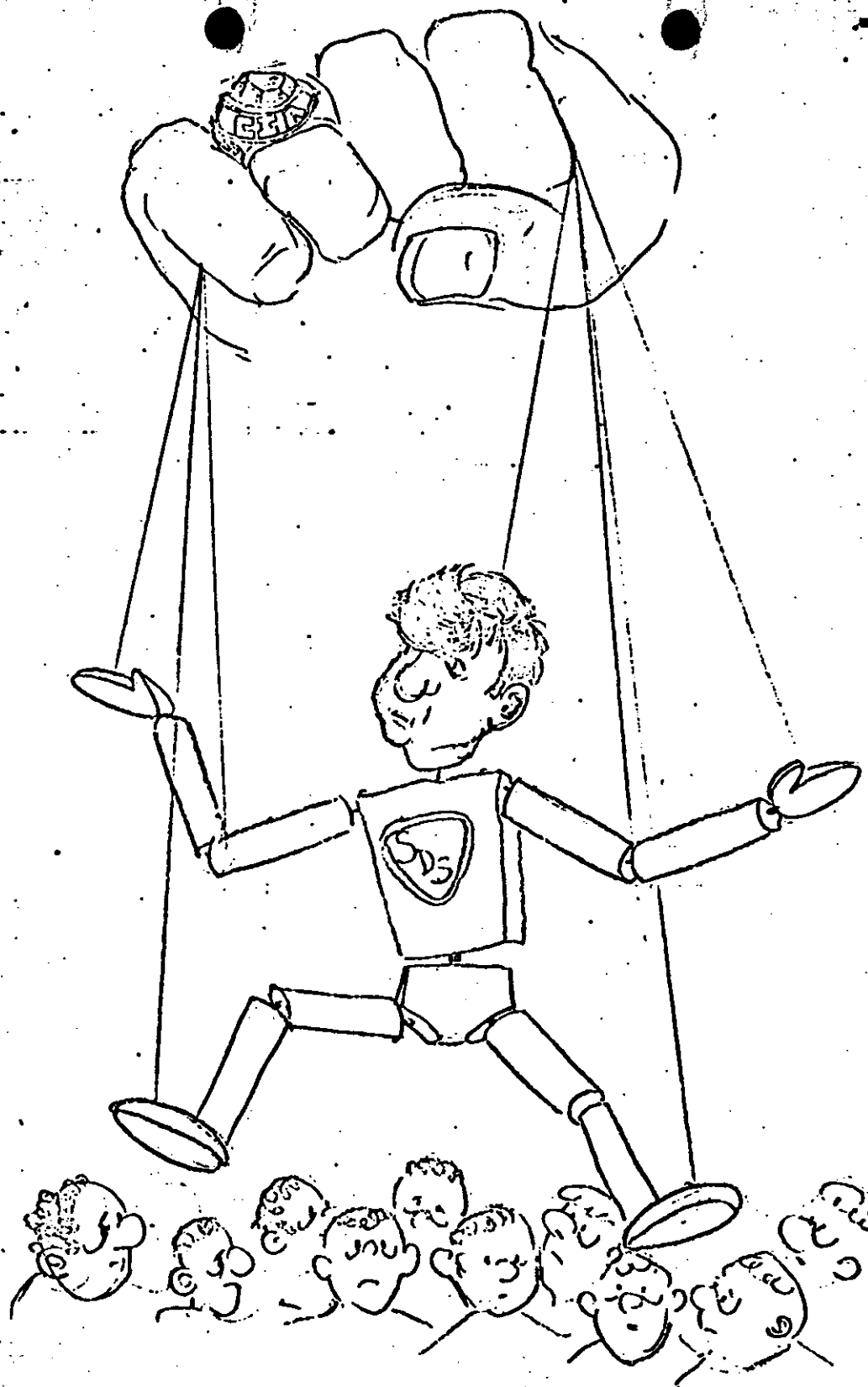
I LIKE



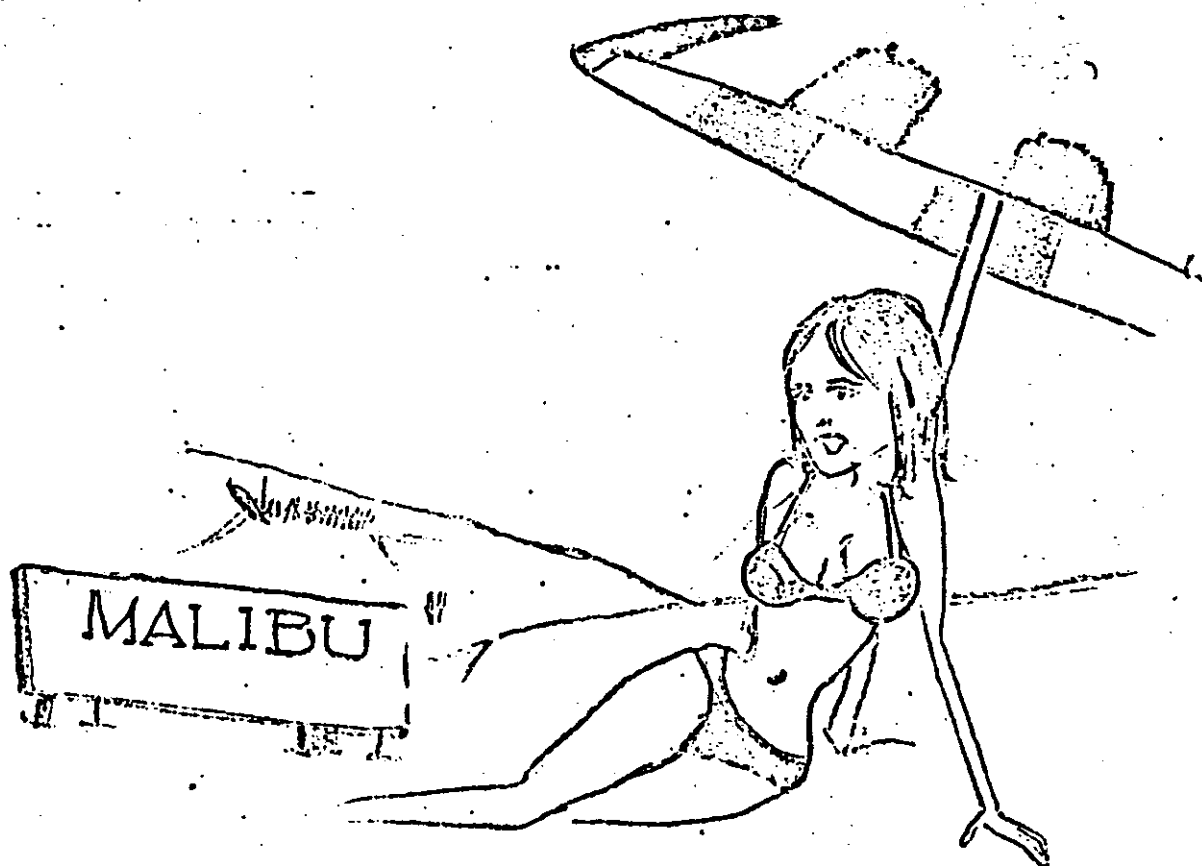
JOIN SDS  
SEE THE WORLD



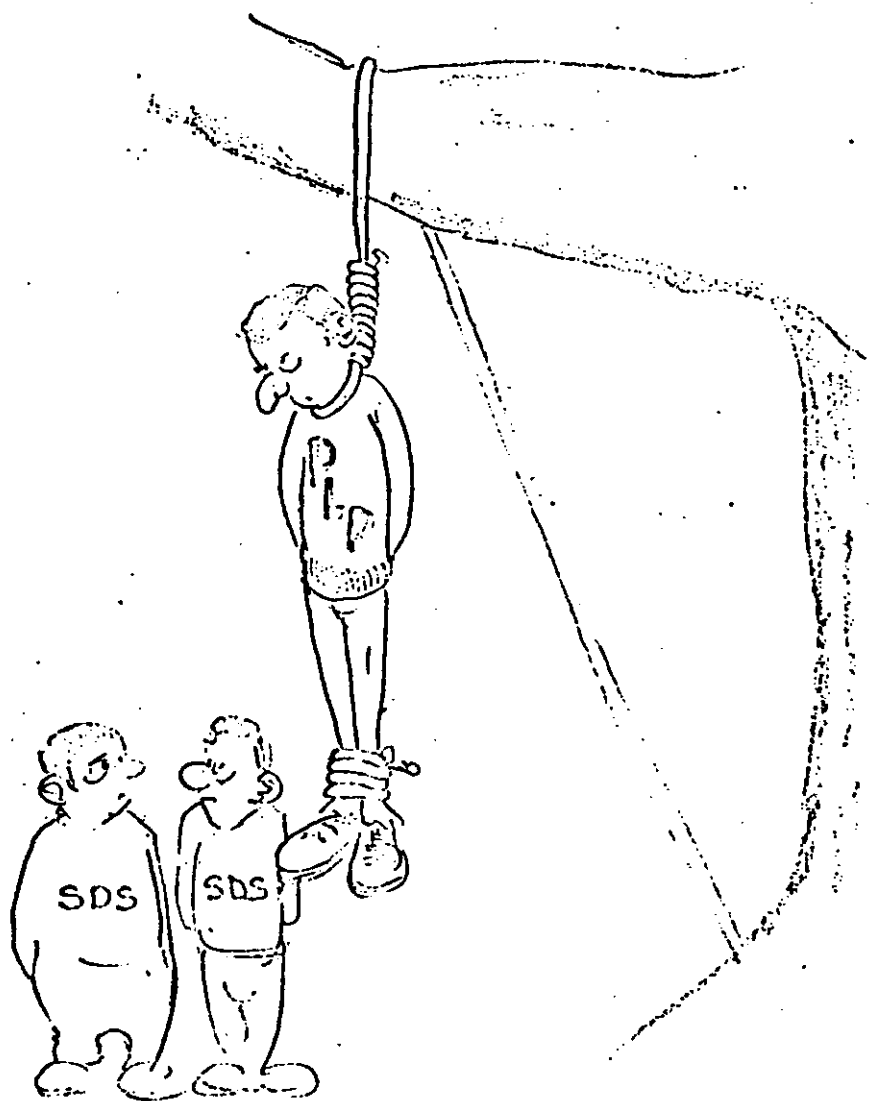
EVERYONE HAS THEIR BAG..THIS JUST  
HAPPENS TO BE MINE...



A LEADER IS CHOSEN



I DIDN'T COME TO CALIFORNIA JUST TO  
'TALK ABOUT SDS!



TOMORROW WE WILL GIVE HIM A FAIR TRIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 12/31/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Chicago letter to Director dated 10/2/68.

## 1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

The Chicago Division recommended that Negro militants be encouraged to demonstrate against the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Office, accusing SDS of being a "lily white" organization. By letter dated 12/26/68 the Bureau instructed Chicago not to encourage demonstration at the SDS office, but authorized the use of informants to encourage, within the Negro community, the idea that SDS is a racist organization. This action is being initiated.

Chicago has also recommended possible action against MIKE KLONSKY, SDS National Secretary. KLONSKY may be subject to recall to active duty in the U.S. Army due to his enlistment in the California National Guard, and subsequent transfer to the U.S. Army Reserve. No further action is being taken on this matter at Chicago as it is believed this matter can be most appropriately handled via SOG liaison.

Plans are being formulated for a cartoon campaign against BERNARDINE DOHRN (key activist), accusing her of using her position as SDS National Inter-organizational secretary for personal gain. Further details will be forwarded to the Bureau with recommendation for action when plans are completed and when the cartoons have been prepared.

FRED GORDON, National Educational Secretary, SDS, spoke at a SDS meeting held at Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois, on December 19, 1968. He was introduced by EARL SILBAR of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). GORDON's speech generally followed the PLP line of freeing the oppressed workers. The potential for counterintelligence action against GORDON is being explored, and appropriate recommendations will be submitted.

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RHW:meh  
(3)

REC-1

100-449698-9-28



1 JAN 13 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 100-45316

Chicago is reviewing all key activist files and files of other individuals and organizations active in the New Left movement to determine possible counterintelligence activities.

## 2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

An anonymous letter captioned "Betrayal at the SDS NO" accusing the national officers of SDS of forgetting the ghetto and attempting to organize blue collar workers was recently distributed.

To date no positive results have been noted; however, this matter is being closely followed through sources, and it is anticipated the reaction to this attack will be noted by these sources in the near future. Chicago will remain alert to further exploit any factionalization that occurs as a result of this mailing, and will submit appropriate recommendations.

## 3. Tangible Results

None.

SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

12/23/68

Director, FBI (100-449698)

1 - [REDACTED]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 12/10/68 and your teletype 11/20/68 captioned "Students for a Democratic Society, IS - SDS."

Referenced communications refer to instances of considerable harassment directed toward the SDS National Office by the Negro community wherein these offices are located. This harassment apparently has reached a level that is encouraging SDS to consider locating in another city. The Bureau is considering the use of this situation in captioned Program. You should, therefore, review your files and contact appropriate local police authorities for any instances of harassment that have occurred at the SDS office or against SDS personnel in the Chicago area.

Promptly submit this material with your recommendation as to how it may best be used to neutralize New Left influence in the Negro community, as well as with its liberal following.

RRH:jcs  
(4)

NOTE:

REC 82

100-449698-9-28  
100-111111-644

If evidence of harassment of SDS by the Negro community is extensive, this situation can be used in our Counterintelligence Program by pointing out through our Mass Media Program that apparently SDS does not have the rapport with the Negro Community that it claims and that it is not readily accepted despite the fact that it claims to champion racial harmony. We may be able to use this material to advantage to drive a wedge between black militants and the New Left.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

19 DEC 20 1968

SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

12/27/68

REC-64

Director, FBI (100-449698) - 659

100-449698-9-27 1 1

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurairtel 12/10/68.

The matter regarding the possibility of having Michael Klonsky called to active duty with the Army has been discussed through the Liaison Section with Army.

On 12/23/68

as only five months reserve time left to serve and that as a consequence he cannot be called to active duty.

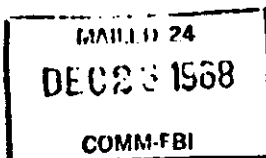
For your additional information, it appears that members of the New Left are taking a new approach with regard to serving in the Armed Services. Where they formerly resisted induction, certain key activists now seem to welcome it with a view toward disruption once they are inducted. For this reason, it does not appear that such action as suggested in reairtel would be an effective counterintelligence weapon.

RHH:jcs  
(5)

NOTE:

In retel CG pointed out that Klonsky, a key activist and an official of SDS, served on active duty with the Army 1963-1964 and was transferred to the reserve to complete six years' military obligation. CG suggested the Bureau contact Army to determine if Klonsky is eligible to be recalled to active duty and, if so, the feasibility of this being done as a counterintelligence measure.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 12/10/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) *Crisp*  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316) *B. A. Baker*  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT *IND*

Re report of SA [REDACTED] at  
 Los Angeles, dated 3/29/68 captioned MICHAEL KENNETH  
 KLONSKY, aka SM - SDS, (Bufile 100-448162).

KLONSKY is presently National Secretary,  
 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and is  
 carried as a key activist of the Chicago Division.

[REDACTED] *B-6*

It is the opinion of the Chicago Office that the  
 above presents an excellent opportunity in counterintelligence  
 against a national officer of SDS, and a key activist of  
 the New Left Movement. As KLONSKY's military obligation  
 does not expire until 5/4/69, he may still be subject to  
 a call to active duty.

100-449698-9-27

It is therefore recommended that through liaison,  
 with the Army, at the SOG, it be determined if KLONSKY is  
 subject to recall to active duty if so, that the feasibility  
 of this be explored.

REC-64  
 3 - Bureau  
 2 - Chicago

100-45601

17 DEC 1968

INT. SEC.

Approved: RHW/sjf (5) *[Signature]*  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

*See Chicago 12-23-68 with  
 New York 12-23-68. Klonsky known to  
 & L. Case 7-11. Case 11 to active duty. Info  
 from Chicago 12-23-68 with  
 12/27/68 RHH/11*

CG 100-45316

If KLONSKY refused to report he would be in violation of the uniform code of military justice, and subject to disciplinary action by the military.

If, on the other hand KLONSKY did report, it would leave SDS vulnerable to a charge of being "two-faced" about its stand on the war in Viet Nam, as one of its national officers was serving on active duty with the Army.

In either case a national officer of SDS, and a key activist would be effectively removed from the organization, and neutralized.

It is noted that KLONSKY's [REDACTED] (Bufile 100-447936) is also carried as a key activist of the Chicago Division. The effect of the action described above on her is not known, but it is possible that this would also reduce her effectiveness as a New-Left Activist.

SSII [REDACTED]  
FBI II [REDACTED]  
PSII [REDACTED]

FBI

Date: 12/10/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Chicago letter to Bureau dated 10/18/68.

[REDACTED] Internal Revenue Service (IRS), advised on 12/10/68, that he has secured the income tax return of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is not available for personal interview until 12/12/68, at which time he will be contacted by Agents of the Chicago Office.

The information made available by [REDACTED] will be analyzed by the Chicago Office for possible counter-intelligence action against [REDACTED] and appropriate recommendations will be submitted to the Bureau.

This matter is being closely followed by the Chicago Office.

③ - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

PLT:jeo  
(4)

100-449698-9-26  
REC-6  
100-449698-9-26

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

1 - [REDACTED]  
10/23/68

Director, FBI (100-449698)

1 - [REDACTED]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

On several occasions in the past, there have been references in the underground press to a factionalist dispute developing within the SDS. As an example of this, an article appeared in the "Berkeley Barb," 10/11-18/68 edition, which defines these factions as: (A) the "Workers-Student Alliance" which feels that SDS should be "a mass, anti-imperialist organization which fights around issues of concern to students" and (B) the "Monday Caucus" or New Left Group, "which subscribes to a strategy of student power which wants to liberate students from their problems without really changing the world at large.

Basically, it appears that one faction desires to concentrate power, leadership and emphasis at the university level using it as the vanguard for a revolution. The other faction feels that SDS should not concentrate or rely so heavily on the intelligentsia, but should relate more closely to the problems of the working man and racial issues. The above article indicated the split was further irritated by the presence of Progressive Labor Party members in the latter group.

In view of the above, recipient offices are to promptly discuss this matter with their informants and sources and review information previously developed concerning this split in SDS with a view toward clearly defining the nature and extent of this ideological schism. All information developed in this regard is to be promptly furnished the Bureau under the above caption. Bear in mind that this split, no matter how superficial at present, can be used to advantage. In this regard, your informants can be of definite value in creating further irritations by making charges and countercharges. It

- 2 - Cleveland (100-28895)  
2 - Los Angeles (100-71737)  
2 - New York (100-163303)  
2 - San Francisco (100-60968)

1 - 100-439048 (SDS)

MAILED 4  
OCT 23 1968  
COMM-FBI  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Rishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RIH:jcs

(14)

OCT 29 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

001 X7

100-449698-9-21  
100-147575-1  
19 OCT 23 1968

UNRECORDED

Letter to SAC, Chicago  
RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

may also be possible, through anonymous mailings and other actions, to create an ideological storm within SDS.

Each office will be expected to define this dispute as it may exist in its territory. Thereafter, present the Bureau with a complete and clear picture of it as it may exist, as well as with a proposed plan of action to take full advantage of the dispute in neutralizing or destroying SDS as an effective movement.

Take no positive action in this regard without first obtaining Bureau authority.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: *[Signature]* DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
FROM: *[Signature]* SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316) (P)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
NEW LEFT

DATE: 10/18/68

Re Chicago letter dated 7/26/68.

*[Redacted]*  
Internal Revenue Service (IRS) was personally contacted on October 17, 1968, and advised that he had not yet located any income tax returns for *[Redacted]* and *[Redacted]* but he will continue to exert every effort to obtain these returns. *[Redacted]* explained that these returns may be in the possession of the Audit Division or the Collection Division of IRS, Chicago, or could have been sent to Washington, D. C. He noted that the name *[Redacted]* is a very common name and presents some problem for his searchers.

*[Redacted]* stated that he is aware of the Bureau's responsibilities regarding the internal security of the country and again expressed a desire to be of every possible assistance to the FBI. *[Redacted]* will personally supervise the search for *[Redacted]* tax return and will promptly advise this office when it is located.

The Chicago Office will maintain close contact with *[Redacted]* so that the desired information can be furnished to the Bureau as soon as possible.

*[Redacted]* advised that the income tax returns for the taxable year 1966 filed by *[Redacted]* (Bufile 100-440138) and *[Redacted]* (Bufile 100-443916), both of whom are key activists of the Chicago Office have been sent to the IRS Collection Division, Washington, D. C. *[Redacted]* stated that returns filed by *[Redacted]* for the taxable year of 1965 were made on IRS form 1040A (short form). *[Redacted]* stated that little information is required from the taxpayer to complete this form and the possibility of uncovering fraud is negligible.

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Chicago  
PLT/mah  
(3)

REC-19

100-449698-9-20



5010-108-02

64 OCT 30 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 100-45316

[REDACTED] advised he was unable to locate any tax returns for [REDACTED] all of whom are key activists. He suggested that these individuals may have filed returns for the taxable year 1966 and years prior to that in another region of IRS. [REDACTED] stated that income tax returns for the taxable year of 1967 have not yet been filed and are not available to him for review.

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 16 1968

ENCIPHERED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WA 5 126PM DCM

URGENT 10-16-68 DCM

TO DIRECTOR (100-449698) CODE

FROM CHICAGO (100-45316)

COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Declassification*  
DATE *3-28-77* *WKS/PLH*

*[REDACTED]*  
*[REDACTED]*  
*[REDACTED]*  
*[REDACTED]* IT WAS RECOMMENDED CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO  
ORGANIZE NEW CP OF ILLINOIS YOUTH CLUB FOR PRIMARY PURPOSE OF  
CONTACTING KEY INDIVIDUALS IN NEW LEFT, ESPECIALLY STUDENTS FOR  
A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) IN ORDER TO PROVIDE CP GUIDANCE AND  
DIRECTION OF NEW LEFT, NOW LACKING.

*[REDACTED]* STATED IF PROPOSED NEW CP YOUTH CLUB IS ORGANIZED,  
CLUB WILL HAVE FULL TIME STATE BOARD MEMBER ACTING IN ADVISORY  
CAPACITY.

AMONG NAMES MENTIONED AS TO WHO POSSIBLY WILL BE CONTACTED  
IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE WERE MIKE KLONSKY, SDS NATL. SECRETARY;  
BERNARDINE DOHRN, SDS INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY AND FRED

END PAGE ONE

Classified by *2242* *43*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *1*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

REC 16

14 OCT 21 1968

54 OCT 25 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY *100-449698-9-19*  
ON *10/21/68*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

GORDON, INTERNAL EDUCATION SECRETARY SDS.

(BUREAU REQUESTED TO NOTE MIKE KLONSKY IS SON OF [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] CP IN EASTERN PA., AND  
DOHRN FORMERLY ASSOCIATED WITH NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, CP FRONT  
ORGANIZATION).

ANOTHER RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY AT MEETING OF CP OF  
ILLINOIS DISTRICT STAFF HELD CHICAGO YESTERDAY, IT WAS RECOMMENDED  
CP OF ILLINOIS DISTRICT YOUTH COMMENCE CONCENTRATING IN NEW LEFT  
WITH EMPHASIS ON SDS.

CHICAGO BELIEVES ABOVE INFO PRESENTS POSSIBILITY OF  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION IN EVENT NEW LEFT CP CLUB ACTUALLY  
FORMED. IN VIEW OF LIMITED NUMBER INDIVIDUALS PRESENT INITIAL  
MEETING, NO IMMEDIATE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION RECOMMENDED IN  
ORDER TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR SOURCES PRESENT.

CHICAGO FOLLOWING CLOSELY. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

HVL

FBI WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : SAC, Chicago (Your file 100-45316) DATE: 10/15/68FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-449698-9-)Room No. 902-9&D☒ Post in file and  
destroy 0-1  
(For SOG use  
only)SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFTReurlet 7/26/68.

- ☐
1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☐

- ☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted  
☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_

Reporting employee \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐
3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_

- ☒ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☒ Investigation ☐ Prosecution  
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo  
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

Routing Slip  
FD-4 (Rev. 4-19-67)

Date 10/9/68

To: \_\_\_\_\_

☒ Director

FILE Bufile 100-449698

Att: Internal Security

Title COINTELPRO- NEW LEFT

☐ SAC Section

☐ ASAC \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Supv. \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Agent \_\_\_\_\_

☐ SE \_\_\_\_\_

☐ IC \_\_\_\_\_

☐ CC \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Steno \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Clerk \_\_\_\_\_

RE: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Rotor #: \_\_\_\_\_

### ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign \_\_\_\_\_ Reassign \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial # 100-449698-9

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Send to \_\_\_\_\_

☐ ~~100-449698-9~~ charge out

☐ Submit report by \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Type

Attached for the Bureau is one copy of  
Vol.1, No.1 of "News From Nowhere", an  
underground newspaper published in DeKalb, Ill.

SAC M.W. JOHNSON

Office Chicago

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 10/20/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Chicago letter dated 6/28/68.

## 1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

None.

## 2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

In referenced letter the Chicago Office indicated that the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) had been contacted in an effort to determine if various members of the New Left might have made fraudulent entries on their income tax returns or failed to file income tax returns in recent years. Furthermore, referenced letter indicated the Chicago Office was attempting to ascertain certain information from IRS concerning income tax returns filed by [REDACTED] in an effort to develop possible counterintelligence action against [REDACTED]

On September 23, 1968, the Chicago Office again contacted [REDACTED] IRS, 17 North Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois, and [REDACTED] advised that he will meet with Agents of the Chicago Office in the near future regarding the above-mentioned matters.

## 3. Tangible Results

A. [REDACTED]  
Illinois Bell Telephone Company, was contacted [REDACTED] regarding unpaid telephone charges incurred by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (NMC). [REDACTED] that NMC presently owed Illinois Bell Telephone Company \$2,167.00 for its Wide Area Telecommunications Systems (WATS) service and [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

PLT:MJD

50 OCT 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

It is believed that this action severely hampered the NMC in its preparations for demonstrations surrounding the Democratic National Convention (DNC) since communications between the Chicago office of NMC and NMC offices in other areas of the country were greatly restricted.

B. Prior to the DNC the NMC distributed 25,000 copies of a blank form requesting the recipients of the form to indicate the number of out of town demonstrators they could house during the DNC.

The Chicago office duplicated 217 copies of this form, which were completed with fictitious names and addresses and returned to the NMC.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

#### 4. Miscellaneous

The Chicago office mailed an anonymous letter to the members of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago and to the "Chicago Tribune" concerning [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and a [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] The NUC is a group that "will support and provide leadership for student rebellions." No results of this mailing have been noted as yet.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-45316

In an effort to widen the rift between the New Left faction and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) faction within the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) the Chicago office recommended that the New York office consider using the indebtedness of the SMC to accomplish this purpose. The Chicago office suggested that the New York office consider the feasibility of ascertaining SMC's creditors and contacting them to determine if they will press SMC for repayment. The results of this recommendation are not known at the present time.

The Bureau, acting upon a recommendation of the Chicago office, has contacted the United States Department of State to determine if [REDACTED] can be barred from legally entering the United States because of his anti-United States activities abroad. The results of the Bureau's contact with the State Department are not known as yet.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 10/1/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

(COINTELPRO) NEW LEFT

ReBuairtel 9/19/68 captioned DEMCON and SF airtel with LHM dated 9/16/68 captioned DEMCON.

Per Bureau request in reBuairtel, all security and racial informants of the Chicago Division were contacted during the period 9/19-27/68 in an effort to develop allegations as set forth in reBuairtel. In addition DEMCON files were reviewed, both with negative results.

As the Bureau is aware, during the weeks prior to the Democratic National Convention (DNC), rumors among antiwar, antidraft, and black power groups were rampant. This was especially true during the DNC. Much of the information received by Chicago could not be corroborated. Investigation often revealed this information to be rumor and that these rumors were the product of poor communications, confusion, or an overzealous mind.

With this in mind the following is set forth for the Bureau with the idea in mind that this information could possibly be utilized at some future date in an effort to disrupt and neutralize New Left leaders;

On [REDACTED] that they had received information that RENNIE DAVIS, Chicago director of

13 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Chicago  
1-100-44963

RWR:meb  
(5)

REC-57

OCT 3 1968

Classified by [REDACTED]  
Exempt from GDS, Category [REDACTED]  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, (NMC) (also a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and a visitor to North Vietnam) had absconded with \$15,000 of NMC funds following the DNC. Contact with sources failed to verify this rumor. On 9/2/68 a pretext call to the Chicago office of Women for Peace, an active Chicago peace group, and the organization taking calls for NMC after the DNC, failed to substantiate this rumor.

In reSFcommunication [REDACTED] made the following observation concerning the demonstration leadership on 8/27/68 at the "free Huey" rally at Lincoln Park, Chicago:

"Abbie Hoffman, Tom Hayden, Jerry Rubin or any of the other 'major leaders' were not present, in fact, they were not around during most of the meetings or marches."

On 9/27/68 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ABBIE HOFFMAN, YIP leader of New York, was noticeably absent during most confrontation activity during the DNC. [REDACTED] HOFFMAN as being "egotistical, foolish and talks a lot." When questioned about his absence, [REDACTED] HOFFMAN indicated he was busy attending press conferences.

[REDACTED] further indicated he believed HOFFMAN painted a four letter obscenity on his forehead so he would be arrested by the [REDACTED] to "save face" among fellow Yippies. It should be noted HOFFMAN was arrested during the DNC after several complaints had been received by the CPD that an individual with an obscenity printed on his forehead was walking around the streets.

Chicago is remaining alert for any information which possibly could be used as counterintelligence against the New Left as a result of the DNC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 9/6/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

**AIRTEL**

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

**TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)**

**FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)**

**COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT**

ReBuairtel dated 8/28/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a FD 302 dated 8/31/68 reflecting an interview on 8/30/68 of USA THOMAS A. FORAN.

The Bureau's attention is invited to Chicago airtel dated 9/3/68 captioned DEMCON, BUfile 157-8589. Enclosed with that airtel was a LHM captioned DEMONSTRATIONS AT DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION (DNC), AUGUST, 1968, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, dated 9/3/68. Section III of that LHM, pages 17-56, was captioned "Activities Provoking Chicago Police Department and Illinois National Guard Action During DNC at Chicago."

The Chicago Office is presently preparing a report in the case entitled DEMONSTRATIONS AT BALBO STREET AND MICHIGAN AVENUE, AUGUST 28, 1968, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, CR-ANTI RIOT; CGfile 44-1163. This report contains considerable information regarding provocations against the Chicago Police Department. Pertinent FD 302s contained in this report are being reviewed and will be submitted expeditiously to the Bureau under the DEMCON caption.

3 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
PLT:meh  
(4)

ENCLOSURE REC 29

EX 109

17 SEP 13 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

57 SEP 13 1968

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date August 31, 1968

United States Attorney THOMAS A. FORAN, Northern District of Illinois, advised that in order to understand the rioting and police action which took place in front of the Hilton Hotel on the evening of August 28, 1968, it would be necessary to consider all of the aspects of the situation in that for three days the Chicago Police Department had been subjected to all types of verbal and physical abuses by members of the Youth International Party and other groups. Mr. FORAN advised that he was present at one time or another in all areas of Chicago where mob action was handled by the Chicago Police Department. He said that on Tuesday evening, August 27, 1968, he was present at Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois, where the members of the Chicago Police Department Task Force and others handled the crowd in a highly skillful and admirable manner. He pointed out that a great majority of these same police officers were also present at the Hilton Hotel August 28, 1968.

Mr. FORAN advised that on all occasions where he had observed the Chicago Police Department handling the mobs, the obscenity used and chanted at the police officers concerning themselves, their wives and their immediate family, was almost unbelievable. In addition to the verbal abuses, the officers were subjected to all types of missiles being thrown at them, including rocks, pop bottles filled with urine, Pepsi Cola cans filled with sand, cement blocks, and pieces of floor tile. Mr. FORAN advised that he was present in the area of Balbo and Michigan on the evening of August 28, 1968, when a group surrounded a police car and completely demolished it. He noted that one individual threw a cement block about 30 inches by 8 inches through the front windshield of the car, and other "hippies" smashed all windows in the vehicle. The police officer inside the car got out of it, drew his weapon, and pointed it at the crowd; however, he did not fire.

Concerning the events which occurred on the evening of August 28, 1968, in front of the Hilton Hotel, Mr. FORAN advised as follows:

100-449698-9-16

On 8/30/68 at Chicago, Illinois File # [REDACTED]  
by SA's [REDACTED] / vel:mg Date dictated 8/31/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENC

During the afternoon, the "hippies" and "yippies" had been coming to the Hilton Hotel area in small groups, and sometime around 4:00 P. M. they marched from the area of the Hilton Hotel to the bandstand located in Grant Park. He estimated that the crowd of people in the park was about 8,000. During this time, the Chicago Police Department officers circulated through the crowd furnishing the persons there with copies of a handbill which stated that the city forbid a march to the Amphitheatre where the Democratic Convention was in session.

There were all kinds of speakers, including NORMAN MAILER, DICK GREGORY, RENE DAVIS and TOM HEYDEN. He said that GREGORY talked about the Chicago Police Department calling them "the Niggers of this generation." GREGORY said that as soon as the Police learn that they will get their pay raises by marching on City Hall, the quicker they will come over to the side of the persons present.

Mr. FORAN observed one of the mob pulling down the American Flag and a group of about 10 policemen moved in and pulled him from the crowd. A short time later, another "yippie" went to the flagpole, pulled down the American Flag, and was attempting to raise a flag of revolution when two police officers went and stopped this particular action.

At this time tension in the crowd was increasing, and they were being led in chants of "kill the pigs" and "Hell no, we won't go," by a man named ORTIZ, who was utilizing a power megaphone. Mr. FORAN stated that throughout the entire evening, ORTIZ would utilize the megaphone and the chant to incite the people, urging them to move forward against the police.

One of the speakers told the group present at the bandstand that they were going to march to the Amphitheatre, and that there would be marshals in front of the march who were trained in getting through police lines. The crowd was

told to form near the statue on the Southeast corner of Grant Park. They were also told that those who wanted to get arrested and go to the Amphitheatre were to line up in one direction and the others who were to march downtown to line up in another direction. At this point Mr. FORAN advised that just prior to this taking place the Police Department had noted that the tension of the crowd was increasing because of the flagpole incident and they sent a group of about 20 police officers through the crowd splitting it in approximately half. At this time he did not observe any police officers hit any individuals with clubs. This had some kind of quieting effect on the crowd. As the members of the groups were lining up for the march, the Chicago Police Department had lined up across Lake Shore Drive and along Columbus Drive. During this time the police were being pelted intermittently by rocks and with plastic baggies containing green paint and urine.

When the march started, the members were told to line up about eight abreast and lock arms. As the people were lining up to march, some of the crowd that were at the bandstand were dispersing and heading north through the park on Lake Shore Drive. For some reason, the entire line went north proceeding along the east side of Columbus Drive. The Police Department stopped the head of the line and a group of police officers split the march at approximately the half-way point, with maybe 1,000 people confined south towards Grant Park and about 800 people confined north towards Balbo Drive. There were hundreds of people crowded on the sidewalk and in the park itself. During this time the marchers were again chanting "kill the pigs" and shouting obscenities at the police officers, also carrying signs which were obscene. The National Guard were stationed behind the Chicago Police Department on Lake Shore Drive, and there were guardsmen on the bridge overlooking the action. The Police Department had contained the "yippies" however, numerous individuals were able to explain their status to the Chicago Police Department and they were allowed to pass through the police

CG 44-1163

4

lines. The majority then sat down on the sidewalk and others began drifting across the Illinois Central Railroad tracks and north towards the park leaving via the Jackson Street Bridge. Sometime at this point the National Guard fired two tear gas canisters into the crowd, which dispersed it for a short period of time. The crowd then began assembling in large numbers in the park east of the Hilton Hotel and were all over Michigan Avenue, and subsequently completely filling and blocking the intersection at Balbo and Michigan and north from Michigan Avenue toward Jackson. By 7:30 P. M. the entire area of Michigan Avenue and the Hilton Hotel was completely jammed and the round over estimate would now be between five and six thousand people.

Mr. FORAN advised that when the marchers initially left Grant Park heading toward the Hilton Hotel, several individuals had various red flags among which was the revolutionary flag. There was an individual who kept blowing a bugle signifying charge and there were several individuals talking through bullhorns. When this group arrived at the Hilton Hotel, the flags were in the mid-intersection of Balbo Drive and Michigan Avenue. There were members of the crowd sitting on top of the stoplight screaming obscenities at the police officers. At this point, Reverend RALPH ABERNATHY, with his mule train, was proceeding south on Michigan Avenue, and could not get to the Hilton Hotel because of the immense number of crowds. ABERNATHY sent one of his lieutenants to talk with the police officer in charge to ask for help in getting through the crowds. Mr. FORAN overheard the conversation in which the lieutenant told the police officer that ABERNATHY could not get involved in this situation because he had old people and children in the mule train. Again ORTIZ was inciting the crowd building up the crescendo with the chanting of "Kill the pig", and "Here we go." Also the continuing barrage of missiles and obscenities were being hurled at the police. The police department had lined up four or five deep along the north end of the Hilton Hotel across Michigan Avenue. There were also police officers lined up on the sidewalk outside of the Hilton Hotel with spectators behind them who were obviously sympathetic to the crowd. There was also a line of police officers extending along the east side of Michigan Avenue from Balbo Street to Eighth Street. This was to contain the large crowd that was in the park. There was another line of police officers west of the hotel lined across Balbo Drive to contain the crowd there. However, there were two main pockets of the crowd, one being north on Michigan and the other in the park east of the Hilton Hotel on Michigan Avenue. There were continuing yells of "We are going to go", "Cannot stop us from the amphitheatre" and other slogans to incite the people present.

Mr. FORAN was present on Michigan Avenue behind the police lines with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Assistant United States Attorney MICHAEL RASH and Mr. ELROD of the City of Chicago. Orders were given and police officers went into the crowd, opened their lines and allowed the mule trains to come through. There was some conversation as to the fact that not all of ARBERNATHY's people had come through the crowd. The lines were opened again and three or four others of ARBERNATHY's other contingents came through. FORAN is of the opinion that ARBERNATHY and his lieutenants may have made some offer to quiet the crowd, however, at this point the actual incident started. There were rocks, bottles, firecrackers and cherry bombs being thrown at the police. GATIE was chanting, "Let's go, let's go," and "Kill the pig". Mr. FORAN then saw the aforementioned revolutionary flag and other flags surge forward toward the police lines. He said that the police reaction was tough, that they were swinging their clubs and were taking prisoners. These prisoners were violently struggling with the police officers and that he did observe one police officer hitting a person en route to the van. However, this individual who was struck was violently resisting arrest. Also there was immediate reaction of the crowd against the police and that the action of the police department was necessary to subdue and control the crowd. Also the police officers were being hit by rocks in increasing intensity, fists and other maiming devices. Mr. FORAN advised that he was approximately 20 feet from the spot where the initial reaction of the police to handle the crowd took place.

Mr. FORAN advised that the police were successful in driving the crowd back to the middle of Balbo Street and that there was probably 50 feet between the main police lines and the crowd. At this point, Mr. FORAN observed that there were shoes, hats, rocks, Pepsi Cola cans filled with sand, a satchel full of rocks and other items which could be hurled at the police and used against them on the ground all over the street. He said that the crowd was obviously shaken, that they were backing up away from the police, but continuing to hurl insults, rocks and bottles.

7.

CG 44-1163

making the policemen jump and dodge to avoid being hurt. He advised that [REDACTED] was in command of the group at Balbo and Wabash and within a matter of seconds after the crowd had attacked the police lines at Balbo and Michigan, his group moved in, also swinging their clubs in an effort to control this unruly mob. He advised also that at the other edge of the crowd, toward the lake, there were police vans and motorcycles. He advised that the police department line stopped at Van Buren Street and the crowd retreated to Jackson Boulevard and some of them dispersed into Grant Park. He observed a police department van in the street north of Jackson surrounded by the crowd and he heard the noise of rocks and bottles bouncing off this van. He was proceeding north on Michigan Avenue and heard a ten-one signal (policeman in trouble) on the police communication radio which he was carrying. He then heard the command "Car 100 sweep." Immediately after this, there was an explosion of engine noise and numerous squads, these wheelers and other police equipment began moving east on Jackson Boulevard, north on Michigan and west on Balbo Street. He said that at this point there were people running in all directions with the main body running west on Jackson. They were running primarily on the sidewalks and he observed blue shirt policemen behind the crowd, urging them on by use of their clubs. He said that the only individuals he observed being hit by the police officers were persons who stopped to argue with the police officers. He observed members of the crowd running north and south through an alley west of Michigan and also running north on Wabash with the police in pursuit. Both the crowd and the police officers stopped to regroup somewhere around State Street. He said at no time in this particular area of action did he observe any white shirted police officers, which would be command officers. He did observe an injured "hippie type" clergyman in the doorway of the Walgreen Drug Store located at Jackson and State Street. There was another "hippie type" individual hurt on the opposite corner. He also observed on the northeast corner of Wabash and Jackson another "hippie" who was badly injured. The clergyman also appeared to be badly

8.

CG 44-1163

injured in that he was bleeding profusely. Mr. FORAN advised that he and the others with him took appropriate action to see that these individuals received medical treatment. He estimated that the entire action lasted from approximately 8:00 P.M. to 8:40 P.M.

The crowd, having been dispersed by the police, returned by various means to the park east of the Hilton Hotel where there were again approximately 6,000 of them screaming insults at the police department and throwing an occasional rock or bottle at them.

Mr. FORAN then advised that during the time the police line was forcing the mob east on Balbo from Wabash, numerous "hippies" had joined the crowd of spectators behind the police barricade in front of the Hilton Hotel. This police line was having a great deal of difficulty containing the crowd and, in fact, the crowd was winning the pushing contest at the doorway to the Hilton Hotel. Police officers were running from other locations assisting the officers at the doorway. Then shortly after the crowd had attacked the police officers on Michigan Avenue, the police officers in the line at the Hilton Hotel doorway began moving the crowd by use of their clubs. Due to the pressure of the crowd, two or three windows were broken and some of the crowd leaped through the windows into the Hilton Hotel. Mr. FORAN stated that a large piece of glass was hanging from the top of one of the windows and he observed a police officer pick up a young girl bodily, lifting her out of the window and almost instantaneously after the police officer had removed this girl from danger, the large piece of glass fell down and obviously would have done considerable harm to this young girl.

Mr. FORAN stated that these police officers assigned at the Hilton Hotel had heard ORTIZ's voice for three nights, urging the crowd to action against the police department, and it was reasonable for these police officers to expect trouble and to meet it with sufficient force to insure the safety of the citizens of Chicago and the property.

9.  
CG 44-1163

Mr. FORAN also advised he has a rough log of the times of various incidents which occurred at the Hilton Hotel and this log would be made available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation if desired. He also stated that the crowd was of a mixed group and not all of the individuals appeared to be "hippies" or "yippies", but would appear to be sympathetic to the mob and that many of them were also shouting insults at the police.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 9/4/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re Bureau teletype, 8/15/68.

Referenced teletype authorized the Chicago Office to duplicate blank forms prepared by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC). These forms solicited housing for demonstrators coming to Chicago for the Democratic National Convention (DNC).

217 of these forms were duplicated by the Chicago Office, completed with fictitious names and addresses and mailed to the NMC. The mailings were sent on a staggered basis during a period of one week prior to the DNC and the stationery and envelopes used were purchased at retail outlets.

[REDACTED] reported on September 3, 1968, that NMC had received numerous replies offering housing to demonstrators. Source stated that the majority of these replies proved to be utterly worthless as they bore non-existent names and addresses.

Source related that a number of demonstrators made long and useless journeys to locate these addresses and several became incensed at the NMC and RENNIE DAVIS for providing worthless leads on housing. Source reported that DAVIS in turn is now questioning the value of mailing lists obtained from other New Left organizations in view of the results of NMC's mailings.

100-449698-9-15

[REDACTED]

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

REC-42

PLT:bab  
(3)

Classified by 43  
Exempt from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

55-131089

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]  
DATE 9-10-68

CG 100-45316

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The results set out above will be claimed as an accomplishment in the next CONTELPRO quarterly status letter submitted by this office.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8/28/68

airtel

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Chicago (100-45316)  
From: Director, FBI (100-449698)  
COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Several news releases have appeared in the local press regarding demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention in which the police have been criticized by using undue force. Already, charges of police brutality are being made and it can be anticipated that charges of this nature will grow.

The Bureau should be alert to this situation and be in a position to refute unfounded allegations whenever possible. Chicago should, therefore, obtain all possible evidence that would disprove these charges and promptly submit it to the Bureau under the above caption.

REC-65

As an example of the type of evidence that is needed, the "Washington Post," 8/27/68 edition on page three, carried an article in which a staff reporter, David Satter, quoted U.S. Attorney Thomas Foran as praising the police and stating that some photographs showing alleged police brutality were posed by photographers.

You should interview U.S. Attorney Foran concerning the incident to which he refers and include it with other information developed. Bear in mind that public source material will be particularly useful in refuting these charges and you should be alert to this type of information.

Along this same line, you should also consider measures by which cooperative news media may be used to counteract those allegations. Take no steps in this regard without prior Bureau authority.

RHH:jcs  
(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEP 6 1968

Airtel to SAC, Chicago  
COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT  
100-449698

NOTE:

Once again, the liberal press and the bleeding hearts and the forces on the left are taking advantage of the situation in Chicago, surrounding the Democratic National Convention to attack the police and organized law enforcement agencies. When actual evidence of police brutality is not available, it can be expected that these elements will stretch the truth and even manufacture incidents to indict law enforcement agencies. We should be mindful of this situation and develop all possible evidence to expose this activity and to refute these false allegations.

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Bishop

8/15/68

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TO SAC CHICAGO

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT.

REURTEL AUGUST FOURTEEN LAST.

AUTHORITY IS GRANTED TO DUPLICATE COPIES OF HOUSING  
FORMS CIRCULATED BY THE NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO  
END THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND TO RETURN FORMS TO COMMITTEE  
FILLED OUT WITH FICTITIOUS NAMES AND ADDRESSES.

ADVISE THE BUREAU OF THE RESULTS OF THIS ACTION.

1 - 157-8589 (Demcon)

BAW:jes  
(9)

NOTE:

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 15 1968

ENCIPHERED

See memo C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan dated  
8/15/68, captioned as above, prepared by BAW:jes.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

51 AUG 26 1968 DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

W. 1002 (1.1.1)

UNRECORDED IN FILED IN

VIA TELETYPE

AUG 14 1968

ENCIPHERED

6:56 PM URGENT 8-14-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CHICAGO--

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

IN ANTICIPATION OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ALLEGEDLY COMING TO CHICAGO, ILLINOIS TO PARTICIPATE IN DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED BY NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM (NMC) IN CONNECTION WITH FORTHCOMING DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION (DNC), NMC HAS CIRCULATED TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND BLANK FORMS REQUESTING RECIPIENTS TO RETURN SAME AND INDICATE NUMBER OF OUT-OF-TOWN DEMONSTRATORS THEY CAN HOUSE.

CHICAGO HAS BLANK COPY OF ABOVE FORM AND REQUESTS BUREAU AUTHORITY TO DUPLICATE TWO HUNDRED FIFTY COPIES AND RETURN NMC OFFICE, CHICAGO WITH FICTITIOUS NAMES AND ADDRESSES FILLED IN.

CHICAGO BELIEVES THIS WOULD CONSIDERABLY HAMPER NMC HOUSING EFFORTS AND IN TURN DISRUPT NMC ACTIVITIES PLANNED AROUND DNC.

IF APPROVED, BUREAU REQUESTED TO EXPEDITE RESPONSE IN VIEW OF TIME FACTOR.

RECEIVED: 8:05 PM LRC

100-449698-9-15  
447698-551  
REC-52  
16 AUG 16 1968  
W.C. Sullivan, 8/15/68  
T.A. B.C. 8/15/68

EX-117

5-BD

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 8/9/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 7/25/68.

Agents of the Chicago Office experienced in investigations of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) have conducted an exhaustive study of the controversy involving the SWP, YSA and New Left activists concerning the SMC.

During this study it was noted that the SMC presently has an indebtedness of \$18,000 and it is believed that this matter might be used to further exacerbate existing animosity between the above mentioned groups.

An article entitled "Issue of SMC Injected into Parade Committee" appeared in the July 26, 1968, issue of "The Militant". The article indicated that the SMC, while having debts totaling \$18,000, has in the past been of considerable financial assistance to New Left organizations such as the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and to the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC). [REDACTED] SMC, was quoted in the article as saying that [REDACTED]

The YSA members are obviously concerned that they will be forced to assume the burden of SMC's indebtedness and not have the assistance of New Left activists in repaying this money. This financial issue apparently will greatly influence the future relationship between these groups.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-163303 (RM))
- 1 - Chicago

PLT:cmm  
(5)

REC 45

100-449698-9-12

4 AUG 12 1968

EX-103

3 AUG 20 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 100-45316

It is recommended that the New York Office review its files and contact appropriate informants if necessary to ascertain the identity of SMC's creditors. Consideration should then be given to contacting these creditors and have them press SMC for payment. Such pressure could widen the rift between SMC and New Left activists and conceivably could lead to the dissolution of SMC as an organization.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

DATE: 8/8/68

Re Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 7/10/68 and  
Bureau letter to Chicago dated 7/16/68.

Termination of NMC's WATS telephone service will  
undoubtedly hamper its ability to organize demonstrations  
at the Democratic National Convention on a nationwide  
basis.

The results of

100-449698-9-11

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Chicago  
(1 - 100-44380)  
PLT/sjf  
(4)

REC-24

10 AUG 12 1968

54 AUG 20 1968

1 INT. SEC

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

8/2/68

EX 110 REC-134

Director, FBI (100-449698) ~~100-449698-9-10~~

100-449698-9-10

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurlet 7/26/68.

Authority is granted to make the anonymous mailing of the letter submitted as enclosure to relet.

The letter is to be prepared on locally purchased stationery which cannot be traced to the Bureau or to the Government. Assure that all other necessary steps are taken to protect the Bureau as the originator of the letter.

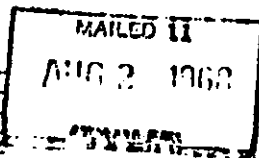
Any positive results obtained should be promptly furnished the Bureau.

RHH:jcs  
(6)

NOTE:

an organization whose announced purpose is to provide support and leadership for student rebellions. By relet, CG furnished a proposed anonymous letter with the recommendation it be sent to members of the Board of Trustees at the University of Chicago and to the "Chicago Tribune." This proposal has merit.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



67 AUG 9 - 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 7/26/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-  
NEW LEFT

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a letter prepared by Special Agents of the Chicago Office with the thought in mind of sending it to members of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago (UC) and to the "Chicago Tribune." The purpose of the letter is to alert the Board of Trustees and the general public regarding the dangers posed by the New University Conference (NUC) and its announced purpose of providing support and leadership for student rebellions.

Details regarding the newspaper article mentioned in the enclosed letter were furnished to the Bureau by airtel and LHM dated July 16, 1968, captioned "COMINFIL NEW UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE, IS-C," (Bufile 62-112109).

[REDACTED SECTION]

The content of the enclosed letter was based on public source material. If the Bureau authorizes the preparation and mailing of the enclosed letter, the Chicago Office will insure that the paper, envelopes and postage used cannot be attributed to the FBI.

The Chicago Office recognizes that the administrative officers of the University of Chicago are probably aware of the existence of the New University Conference and its program. The Board of Trustees, however, is composed of individuals such as JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER whose wide interests might preclude any knowledge on their part of the New University Conference. The letter is intended to stimulate an interest

- (2) - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
PLT/DLK  
(3)

REC 45-100

14 JUL 29 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 100-45316

in the proposed activities of the New University Conference and to prod the Board of Trustees into some action against the New University Conference and [REDACTED]

Bureau authority is requested to mail copies of the enclosed letter to the Board of Trustees, University of Chicago and to the "Chicago Tribune."

Dear Sir,

I am very disturbed over recent developments which have been occurring in our great institutions of learning including the University of Chicago. There appears to be a trend toward student rebellions and anarchy which is certain to have a deleterious effect upon the quality of education which can be gained at our universities.

Student riots not only destroy university property but threaten the personal safety of all the students, most of whom are on campus to further their education. An example was the student uprising during the past year at Columbia University. During this riot many of the students were injured and the university suffered extensive property damage.

In this day when the very fabric of our society rests upon the discipline of law, it is tragic to have this discipline threatened by a few factious individuals who desire to impose their will on our universities by inciting students to demonstrate in protest of manufactured grievances.

[REDACTED]

It is difficult for me to understand why the University of Chicago would want to continue [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] bear the responsibility for students who may be injured during the "rebellion" or the property damage that may be sustained by the University of Chicago?

Certainly, every college professor has the right to academic freedom but does this give license to instigate a student rebellion? Is not conduct of this type really a betrayal of a trust which the University of Chicago has placed [REDACTED]

100-447088-9-10

100

I am addressing these questions to the trustees of the University of Chicago because I feel they have the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of faculty and students when such conduct directly affects the university. They owe to the students and faculty a measure of safety and the assurance that the processes of education will be carried on, in an orderly fashion.

I have no personal animosity toward [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. I am concerned only with the welfare of the University of Chicago, its faculty and students. I believe that unless the university acts forcefully to halt the activities of the New University Conference the interests of all will suffer greatly.

A Concerned Alumnus .

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

Return Bureau (RM)

TO : SAC, Chicago (Your file 100-45316) DATE: 8/1/68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-449698-9)

Room No. 902 9&amp;D

☐ Post in file and  
destroy 0-1  
(For SOG use  
only)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

ReBulet 7/16/68.

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.☐

☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted  
☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted

Reporting employee

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted

☒ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution  
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☒ contact with L. B. Egenberger  
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date)

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

DATE: 7/26/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letters, 5/27/68, and 6/10/68.

Bulet dated 5/27/68, instructed the Chicago Office to contact the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to determine if information could be obtained regarding contributions to various groups made by [REDACTED] and to determine [REDACTED] sources of income.

ReBulet dated 6/10/68, authorized the Chicago Office to contact IRS regarding the income tax returns of key activists within the Chicago Division to ascertain if fraudulent returns were made by these individuals. It also authorized the Chicago Office to furnish IRS with specific information concerning [REDACTED]

IRS, 17 North Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois, was contacted in June, 1968, regarding all of the above mentioned matters and close liaison has been maintained with him since that time. He has been completely cooperative and is now attempting to secure all the desired income tax returns and the partnership return of [REDACTED] Chicago, the [REDACTED] with which [REDACTED] is connected.

[REDACTED] has advised that it may require considerable time for him to obtain these returns. He is placing requests for these returns on a staggered basis so as not to arouse any curiosity among IRS personnel as to

REC-39

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Chicago  
1 - 100-40085  
PLT:mr  
(4)

14 JUL 29 1968

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

JUL 24 1968  
KEROZ

51

AUG-5 1968

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 100-45316

the reason for his requests. [REDACTED] is the only individual at IRS who is aware of the FBI's interest in this matter.

[REDACTED] has assured Special Agents of the Chicago Office that when he has obtained all of the income tax returns requested, he will discuss these matters in full detail with Special Agents of the Chicago Office.

The Bureau will be promptly advised of developments in these matters with recommendations for appropriate counter-intelligence action.

SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

7/16/68

Director, FBI (100-449658)

REC-72  
100-449658-9-7  
EX 106

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reurairtel 7/10/68.

You are authorized to discuss with [REDACTED]

, the

Make sure that [REDACTED] understands that the Bureau is not to be mentioned in connection with this matter. Advise the Bureau of the results of your contact with him.

BAW:jes  
(6)

NOTE:

The NMCEWV is sponsoring demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention which will be held in August, 1968, at Chicago. This group includes members of various subversive organizations. Chicago has determined that the Committee presently owes the telephone company \$3600. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This appears to be a good suggestion and it is felt that Chicago should be allowed to make the contact.

JUL 17 1968

JUL 16 1968

JUL 26 1968

JUL 26 1968

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

Date: 7/10/68  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

**AIRTEL**

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)  
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bulet dated 5/10/68.

As the Bureau is aware the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC), Bureau File 62-111181, is one of the more active New Left Organizations within the Chicago Division. RENNIE DAVIS, Bureau file 100-443916, Key Activist and Chicago Area Coordinator of NMC has announced plans for the NMC to stage demonstrations during the forthcoming National Democratic Convention to be held in August, 1968 in Chicago. NMC will hold a meeting on 7/14/68 of a coalition of peace and black power groups from throughout the US to formulate plans for demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention.

NMC, acting under the name "Summer of Support" has established coffee houses near military installations throughout the US with the announced purpose of disrupting the military.

3 - C. C. - Bishop  
3 - Bureau (RM)  
3 - Chicago  
(1-100-44963) (DENCON)  
(1-100-44380) (NMC)

PLT:smg  
(6)

REC-72

12 JUL 13 1968

EX 106

INT-SEC.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)  
DATE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Classified by 2277 185

Exempt from GDS, Category 1

Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Let to CC, 7/10/68  
FPA/jw

14 907

WJ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-45316

[REDACTED]

Recommendation

It is recommended that the Chicago Office

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The Chicago Office respectfully requests that the Bureau give this recommendation early consideration in view of the imminence of the National Democratic Convention and NMC's announced plans to demonstrate at the convention.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 7/15/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-114) (100-349140) (100-439040)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-38841) (100-24800) (100-40903)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS  
IS - C

[REDACTED]  
IS - C

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY  
IS - SDS

Re Chicago letter to Bureau 7/3/68 captioned  
"CP, USA, PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS, IS - C"  
Chicago airtel to Bureau 5/29/68 captioned "STUDENTS  
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS - SDS".

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of LHM  
dated and captioned as above.

The sources mentioned in the enclosed LHM  
are [REDACTED]

- (6) - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)  
    (3 - 100-3-114)  
    (1 - 100-349140)  
    (1 - 100-439040)  
    (1 - 100-449698) (Info) (COINTELPRO)  
6 - Chicago  
    (1 - 100-38841)  
    (1 - 100-24800)  
    (1 - 100-40903)  
    (1 - 100-45316)  
    (1 - 100-44710)

PLT:dmv.

(12)

CARBON COPY

NOI DEPT.  
165 JUL 19 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

9 AUG 6 1968

RECEIVED

CG 100-38841  
CG 100-24800  
CG 100-40903

[REDACTED]

The LHM is classified confidential since it contains information from a source, the disclosure of whose identity could adversely effect the security of the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

July 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-38841

100-24800

100-40903

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated June 21, 1966, captioned "Communist Party, USA, Public Appearance of Party Leaders, Internal Security - C" and Chicago memorandum dated May 29, 1968, captioned "Students for a Democratic Society".

[REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *[Signature]*  
DATE *7/15/68*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~  
~~Excluded from automatic~~  
~~downgrading and declassification~~

*6/15/68*  
*8/25/77*

*1*  
*7/1/68*  
*1*  
OFFICE

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

██████████ who has furnished reliable information in the past

The first source mentioned above advised on

A characterization of SDS appears in the appendix attached hereto.

The July 11, 1968, issue of the "Chicago Daily News" on page one carried an article captioned " 'Subversive' Speaker Ban at UI Killed". The article stated in part as follows:

"An Illinois law that bans 'subversive' speakers from University of Illinois campuses was declared unconstitutional Thursday by a panel of three federal judges".

"The panel said the 1947 Clabaugh Act was 'an unjustifiable prior restraint of speech that lacks procedural safeguards required for a form of regulation amounting to censorship' ".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"The strongly worded court ruling said the Clabaugh Act was 'impermissibly vague' and 'abhorrent to the Constitution of the United States both on its face and as applied' by the university trustees".

The above mentioned newspaper article stated that this decision resulted from a suit brought by 27 students and faculty members of the UICC.

The Clabaugh Act according to the article forbids the use of university facilities for any subversive seditious and un-American organizations for the purpose of carrying on advertising or publicizing the activities of such organizations.

Members of the panel hearing this matter were United States District Judges Alexander Napoli, and Bernard M. Decker, and Judge Roger J. Kiley of the United States Court of Appeals. According to the article, Judge Napoli writing for the unanimous panel declared "The university denied plaintiffs the opportunity to hear the speaker of their choice solely on the basis of the speaker's association and views to be espoused".

"We hold that the Clabaugh Act both on its face and as applied to these plaintiffs has denied them due process of law because it lacks the precision of language of a statute regulating an area so closely intertwined with First Amendment liberties; because it is an unjustifiable prior restraint to speech; and because it lacks procedural safeguard required for a form of regulation amounting to censorship".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The "Chicago Sun Times" issue of July 12, 1968, on page three carried an article captioned "Court Voids Ban On 'Subversive' Illini Speakers." The article stated in part as follows:

"Student leaders immediately began making plans to have Communists speak at the Chicago Circle campus".

"However, university officials said they have not decided whether the ruling will result in changes in their policy on campus speakers. They added that they do not know whether they will appeal the decision".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 7/8/68

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)  
DATE 7/11/68

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)  
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

*BC [unclear]*

Rebulet, dated 5/28/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 15 copies each of  
six LHMs, captioned as follows:

"NEW LEFT ACTIVITY-UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO"

"NEW LEFT ACTIVITY - ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY"

"NEW LEFT ACTIVITY - ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY"

"NEW LEFT ACTIVITY - NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY"

"NEW LEFT ACTIVITY - UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
CIRCLE CAMPUS"

"NEW LEFT ACTIVITY - NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY"

All of the enclosed LHMs are classified "Confidential"  
since they contain information from sources whose identification  
could adversely affect the security of the United States.

ENCLOSURE

- (3) - Bureau (Encls. 90) (RM)  
7 - Chicago

(1 - 100-45406) (NEW LEFT ACTIVITY (NLA)  
NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY)

17 JUL 10 1968

(1 - 100-45420) (NLA-ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY)

(1 - 100-45422) (NLA-ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY)

(1 - 100-45423) (NLA-UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS)

(1 - 100-45425) (NLA-UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO)

PLT:mew (1 - 100-45426) (NLA-NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY)

INT. SEC.

(10)

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080

01/24/71

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Classified by 222

Exempt from GDS

Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6/29/75

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The pretext interview mentioned in the LHM captioned "NEW LEFT ACTIVITY - ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY" was conducted on 5/6/68 by SA [REDACTED]

Subversive characterizations of individuals mentioned in the enclosed LHMS have been set forth where such information was available in the files of the Chicago Office. The files of the Chicago Office do not contain sufficient information to subversively characterize the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The following sources were utilized in the preparation of the enclosed LHMs:

[illegible]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <sup>2</sup>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

As the Bureau is aware, the Chicago Office is continuing to follow an aggressive program in developing informant coverage on the various college campuses within the Chicago Division. The following steps are being taken to improve this coverage:

1. A PSI program has been instituted to develop informants in the broad organizations who will be in an excellent position to furnish information regarding campus organizations off the college campus.
2. Review case files of individuals who have come to the attention of the Chicago Office during the course of security investigations and who were in attendance at a college or university but have now terminated their education for one reason or another. Cases are being opened on those individuals for possible development as potential sources or informants.
3. The Chicago Office is promptly acting upon all information which is voluntarily being furnished by individuals who are in some way connected with colleges or universities.

The Chicago Office is closely following this matter to assure that the Bureau's responsibilities in this field are met.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-45316

During the past year none of the demonstrations which occurred on college campuses within the Chicago Division have resulted in violence. It is evident however that there exists a potential for violence at every demonstration that takes place. Such violence might occur spontaneously as the result of an incident not planned by demonstrators and unforeseen by them.

Inasmuch as the Chicago Division expects that more demonstrations will occur at colleges within the Chicago Division during the coming school year, it believes there is a considerable potential for violence at these colleges.

The following colleges within the Chicago Division have no organized New Left groups in existence and have had no campus disturbances during the past year:

North Central College, Naperville, Illinois;  
Elgin Community College, Elgin, Illinois;  
St. Procopius College, Lisle, Illinois;  
Joliet Junior College, Joliet, Illinois;  
Triton Junior College, Northlake, Illinois;  
Prarie State Junior College;  
Thornton Junior College;  
Aurora College, Aurora, Illinois;  
Waubensee Community College, Aurora, Illinois;  
Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois;  
Illinois Valley Community College, LaSalle, Illinois;  
Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois;  
Mundelein College, Chicago, Illinois;  
De Paul University, Chicago, Illinois;  
Chicago Teacher College-North, Chicago, Illinois;  
Wright Junior College, Chicago, Illinois;  
LaBalle Extension University, Chicago, Illinois;  
Blackstone School of Law, Chicago, Illinois;  
Lewis College, Lockport, Illinois;  
Institute of Applied Sciences, Chicago, Illinois;  
Barat College, Lake Forest, Illinois;  
Woodrow Wilson Branch, Chicago City Junior College,  
Chicago, Illinois;  
Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois;

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-45316

Shimer College, Mount Carroll, Illinois;  
Rock Valley Junior College, Rockford, Illinois;  
Sauk Valley College, Dixon, Illinois;  
Highland Community College, Freeport, Illinois;  
John Marshall Law School, Chicago, Illinois;  
Kent College of Law, Chicago, Illinois;  
George Williams College, Downers Grove, Illinois;  
Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois;  
Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois;  
Northeastern Illinois State College, Chicago, Illinois;  
Chicago State College, Chicago, Illinois.

The Chicago Office has established close liaison with the established sources with the administration of each of the above colleges and has been assured that in the event any New Left activity or disturbances occur on these campuses such information will be immediately made available to the FBI Chicago Office.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW LEFT ACTIVITY -  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CAMPUS

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1600 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts or more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.

1

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in May, 1967, the YSA-C, also known as the University Young Socialists, was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of May, 1967, were current members or sympathizers of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1967, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

July 9, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-45316

Title NEW LEFT ACTIVITY - UNIVERSITY  
OF ILLINOIS CIRCLE CAMPUS

Character

Reference Memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Chicago, Illinois

JUL 9 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-45316

Title NEW LEFT ACTIVITY-  
NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

Character

Reference Communication dated and  
captioned as above at Chicago.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

DATE: 6/28/68

SECRET

Rebulet 5/10/68.

## 1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

[REDACTED]

## 2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

A) The Chicago Office has contacted the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) locally and is having IRS determine if key activists within this division have submitted income tax returns or made fraudulent entries on these returns in recent years. The key activists in the Chicago Division are:

[REDACTED]

Bufile 100-447549  
Bufile 105-157629  
Bufile 100-443916  
Bufile 100-440138  
Bufile 100-447998  
Bufile 100-447957

B) The Chicago Office turned over to IRS information that [REDACTED] of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and [REDACTED] of SDS [REDACTED] IRS will determine if these funds were reported by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] as income.

C) The Chicago Office is attempting to determine through IRS the nature and amount of contributions made to various organizations by [REDACTED] Chicago is also attempting to ascertain [REDACTED] business clients and thereby develop possible counterintelligence

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

DLT/DLK  
54 JUL 11 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

INT. SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/24/80 BY 3080

SECRET

action to cause [REDACTED] to withdraw her financial support of SDS.

3. Tangible Results

None.

4. Miscellaneous

Chicago is remaining alert to possible violations of Federal and local laws by New Left activists so that swift prosecution can be undertaken and their activities brought to an end.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/31/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulet to Albany 5/10/68.

Analysis of Potential Counterintelligence  
Against the New Left

The Chicago Office after a searching analysis of all organizations active in the Chicago Area in the New Left has concluded that the following organizations warrant consideration as targets under the Bureau counterintelligence program: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); Student Mobilization Committee (SMC); National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) and Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE).

The above organizations have been selected as counterintelligence targets because each has engaged in one or more of the following activities: 1) draft resistance, 2) civil disobedience and direct confrontation with civil authorities, 3) advocacy and promotion of policies leading to anarchy. These organizations constitute the most active and most radical groups in the New Left movement in the Chicago Division and possess the greatest potential danger to the security of the United States. Chicago, while concentrating its counterintelligence program against the above mentioned organizations will be alert for counterintelligence opportunities against other New Left organizations as they present themselves.

The Chicago Office is in agreement with the Bureau that the development of a successful counterintelligence program against the New Left must be constructed in such a way that advantage can be taken of the unique characteristics found in the members of these groups. By and large these groups are composed of youth--college students or recent college graduates.

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
PLT:meh  
(3)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

6/10/68

airtel

1  
1

To: SAC, Chicago (100-45316)

From: REC-125 Director, FBI (~~100-449698~~)

*100-449698-9-2*

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Reurlet 5/31/68 and Bureau telephone call 6/7/68.

Bureau authority is granted to cooperate with local authorities and the Chicago Office of Internal Revenue Service in efforts to disrupt operations of the New Left as set forth in referenced letter. The Bureau should be kept advised of developments.

RR:jes  
(5)

NOTE:

CG Office recommended continued quick and decisive action on violations of local and Federal laws by New Left members; cooperation with local authorities in effort to disrupt SDS National Convention (6/10-15/68) by insuring one or more leaders of SDS not able to attend by reason of local charges; and furnishing certain financial data to IRS at CG regarding Key Activists and certain officers of SDS. Above recommendations encompass existing responsibility of FBI to furnish other law enforcement agencies evidence in our possession of violations of laws in their respective jurisdictions. It is noted IRS is presently conducting an audit of SDS funds at the Bureau's request.

Telephone call referred to from Section Chief C.D. Brennan to SAC, Chicago, orally authorized above-mentioned cooperation with local authorities and IRS in view of short deadline re SDS National Convention.

MAILED 10  
JUN 10 1968  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 13 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*PM*  
*OK*

They have in general discarded any pretense of observing the codes of morality previously accepted by youth in the U.S. It is felt, therefore, that it would be useless to attempt to discredit or embarrass these groups by publicizing their sexual immorality.

Similarly, members of the New Left organizations do not regard an arrest record as a discredit if the arrest occurs in connection with civil rights, anti-war or draft resistance activity. On the contrary, the person arrested is held in higher esteem by his peers and is viewed as one with a "real committment." Disinterest in law and order and an attitude toward law enforcement officers bordering on contempt appear to be traits common to all individuals active in the New Left. These individuals when arrested for crimes growing out of civil disobedience, draft resistance and related activities appear to thrive on the television and newspaper coverage afforded them. Therefore, it is felt that a counterintelligence program should be very select in the individuals it attempts to neutralize or discredit through exposure, and only those individuals should be selected for exposure who are guilty of the type of activity that would discredit them with the New Left movement or would discredit the New Left movement in the eyes of the public.

The Chicago Office feels that the tremendous success of the Bureau's counterintelligence program against the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) was possible because of the Bureau's extensive informant coverage of the CPUSA for many years at every level. Through the Bureau's high level informant coverage a vast amount of knowledge was collected concerning the thinking and activities of all the leaders of the CPUSA. This knowledge made it possible for the Bureau's counterintelligence program to pinpoint and exploit the weaknesses of the CPUSA.

Also, Chicago feels that it is very fortunate in having promising extensive coverage of the New Left and key activists activity in the Chicago area, and feels that through utilizing the knowledge being developed through this program it will be able to develop an aggressive and imaginative counterintelligence program. In order to utilize this informant coverage to the fullest possible extent, the Chicago Office is at present carefully examining all of its New Left informant files to determine if one or more of these informants could be used on a full-time basis.

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As the Bureau is aware, most New Left leaders, particularly those active at a national level, devote full time to their responsibilities and Chicago feels that it must have informants engaged full-time if it is to achieve the success in the counterintelligence program it desires. Through full-time informants the Chicago Office will be able to learn of and be in a position to exploit the subtle differences and clashes of personalities that could disrupt and hamper the New Left movement.

Appropriate recommendations regarding any informant found possessing the requirements suitable for his utilization in the New Left movement on a full-time basis will be submitted under the individual case captions of the informants.

#### Recommendations

Experienced agents of the Chicago Office who have conducted investigations in the New Left movement since its inception recommend the following counterintelligence Program:

(1.) That the Chicago Office continue in every possible way to see that quick and decisive prosecutive action is taken against all members of the New Left for all violations of law. It is believed that prosecutive action is most effective in accomplishing the desired disruption of the organized activity of these groups.

Chicago will continue to follow closely the activities of all individuals engaged in the New Left movement to uncover any possible violations of law committed by these individuals. Particular attention will be given to possible violations of the Selective Service Act and any violations of local law concerning which the police may take action.

With respect to the above, the Bureau is requested to note that during the latter part of 1966, [REDACTED] (BUfile 100-439955, CGfile 100-39357) was convicted for violation of the Selective Service Act and subsequently was released on appeal bond. The Chicago Office in closely following this case, especially [REDACTED] day-to-day activities, recently determined that [REDACTED] had been arrested both in California and New York while participating in anti-draft activities. This information was immediately furnished to AUSA DAVE HARTIGAN, USA's Office, Chicago,

who in turn filed a motion with U.S. District Judge JAMES B. PARSONS, Chicago, to revoke [REDACTED] appeal bond based upon the fact that [REDACTED] had left the jurisdiction of the court without permission.

In view of the above, Judge PARSONS revoke [REDACTED] appeal bond and [REDACTED] was ordered into immediate custody on May 27, 1968, to begin serving a four year prison term.

(2) That the Chicago Office institute action to disrupt the SDS national convention scheduled to be held at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, June 10-15, 1968, by attempting to insure that one or two leaders of the SDS are unable to attend the convention. The individuals who would undoubtedly play leading and significant roles at this convention and in any programs adopted at the convention are:

[REDACTED]

The absence of one or more of the aforementioned individuals is certain to create confusion at the SDS national convention.

The Chicago Office is currently conducting an intensive review of pertinent laws and statutes of the State of Illinois, Cook County and the City of Chicago to ascertain if the SDS National Office or the aforementioned individuals may be in violation of any regulation which could permit the issuance of a subpoena to one or more of these individuals requiring that they appear at a hearing within the State of Illinois during the period of the SDS national convention June 10-15, 1968.

The Bureau will immediately be advised of the nature of any law which could be utilized for the above described purpose.

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In addition, as the Bureau is aware, the Chicago Office continues to enjoy excellent relations with the Chicago Police Department.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

One of the broad provisions of City Ordinance 193-1 proscribes "Any unreasonable or offensive act, utterance, gesture or display which under the circumstances creates a clear and present danger of a breach of peace or imminent threat of violence."

[REDACTED]

(3) That the Chicago Office be authorized to contact Internal Revenue Service (IRS) on a local level regarding the income tax returns of key activists in the Chicago Division to determine if they have submitted federal income tax returns and if so have made any fraudulent entries as compared with known background.

The following key activists are located in the Chicago Division:

[REDACTED] 100-447549  
[REDACTED] BUfile 105-157629  
[REDACTED] BUfile 100-443916

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[REDACTED], BUfile 100-440138  
[REDACTED] BUfile 100-447998  
[REDACTED] BUfile 100-447957 .

It is noted that all of these individuals have been active in the leadership of New Left organizations and that they have been involved in the financial transactions of these groups. It is not believed that their financial records will bear close scrutiny and the possibility exists that they may not have filed any tax returns in recent years.

The IRS is already conducting a searching examination of the financial records of SDS and it is believed that IRS would be happy to extend its examination to include the income tax returns of the above mentioned key activists.

If the IRS could uncover violations of the law in the tax returns of these key activists any legal action brought against them would disrupt the New Left movement because these individuals are the driving force in the organizations with which they are affiliated.

The Chicago Office can assure the security of this IRS contact if approved.

4) That the Chicago Office turn over to IRS financial information it has obtained concerning [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Investigation has revealed that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] who identified themselves as [REDACTED]

It is recommended that information concerning the [REDACTED] be turned over to IRS because it is believed [REDACTED] represents taxable income [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] which should have been reported on their 1967 federal income

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tax return. If IRS determines that [redacted] and [redacted] did not file returns for 1967 or that they did not include this money as income, the Chicago Office feels that IRS will be in a position to take action against them under the federal income tax laws.

Chicago will give aggressive and continuous attention to this program and remain alert for any situation or development offering the potential for counterintelligence action.

"Because firmness has quelled student revolution wherever it has been invoked, we are at a loss to understand why Roosevelt University has agreed to rescind all disciplinary action against 72 students, 16 of whom were expelled, who participated in illegal sit-ins. The object of this activity was to force [redacted] to give a permanent faculty appointment to [redacted] [redacted] would have been well advised to stand fast against the troublemakers."

That is the view of the "Chicago Tribune." More important may be the view of the students themselves. Do they believe the ultimatum issued by the University of Chicago was harsh, oppressive, unreasonable? Is Roosevelt University's approach of "lets reason together" the better alternative? There can be no definitive answer to these questions but subsequent events at the University of Chicago may be enlightening.

A group of white New Left students took up the demands of SPLIBS and made the cause their own. SDS members were among those who called for a student meeting at the University of Chicago on May 17, 1968, to discuss a proposed student strike on May 20 to protest alleged racial discrimination at the school.

Strike pamphlets were printed and passed around to some 300 students who attended the meeting. The administration's response to the group's demands was judged "inadequate" by a 129 to 70 vote. Speeches favoring the strike seemed to carry conviction.

Then the strike vote itself was taken. A number of students leaving afternoon classes had joined the crowd and in an unusual example of participatory democracy the motion to strike was defeated 150 to 110 much to the consternation of the New Left leaders.

After a quick conference within the New Left group an SDS member addressed the assembled students: "Comrades, we have suffered a clear defeat here, and let's not blink at it. This is an example of the sick acquiescence on this campus. There's a lot of work to be done on this campus before we can get it out of this mood of sick acquiescence." The vote he declared showed that a majority of students "clearly don't give a damn." "We've got to change those people," he said.

Leadership on the campus is essential. If college administrators act with authority the majority of students will respect that authority. If a militant minority group of students exerts its will nothing but irresponsible actions and demands can be expected to follow;

Recommendation

In view of the above, it is recommended that aggressive counterintelligence action be considered whenever New Left groups engage in disruptive activities on college campuses in the Chicago, Illinois, area. The action should be in the form of having cooperative press media emphasize that the disruptive elements on the campus constitute a minority of the students and do not represent the convictions of a majority of the student body. Demands should be made in the press for an immediate student referendum on the issue in question. If the New Left seeks "participatory democracy" it should be put in effect on the college campus. The motto of SDS is "Let the People Decide." If cooperative press media champion the slogan "Let the Students Decide" then the disruptive forces can hardly refuse to agree to a student referendum.

The Chicago Office believes that the overwhelming majority of college students are serious, fair minded and conscientious in their studies. It is evident that the New Left has in the past seized upon trivial matters to cause disruption on college campuses. If the serious student can be offered a choice it would appear certain that he would reject such triviality in favor of the serious business of obtaining an education.

This technique, if used in carefully selected cases, could put a quick end to lengthy demonstrations similar to those which have occurred on college campuses in recent months. It might also cause the New Left leaders bent on anarchy to reject agitation unless they find a plausible and valid matter for dispute. Furthermore, this technique, if successful, would cause embarrassment to the New Left and it would obviously diminish the stature of the New Left in the eyes of the students.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/13/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-45316)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 5/23/68.

## False Allegations of Police Brutality

An exhaustive review of the files of the Chicago Office has disclosed only one instance of alleged police brutality during student demonstrations in the Chicago Division within the past year. This incident occurred during a demonstration sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at the University of Illinois Circle Campus (UICC) on January 17, 1968. The demonstration was in protest of United States Marine Corps recruitment at UICC.

While the demonstration was in progress a group of counter pickets who favored Marine Corps recruiting on the campus appeared at the scene and an unidentified member of this group scuffed with [REDACTED] a militant Negro group at UICC. University police removed [REDACTED] to an office where he continued to struggle against the police and struck his head on a metal cabinet. Four stitches were required to close the wound and [REDACTED] charged the police with brutality.

While it appears that [REDACTED] charge of police brutality is totally without foundation, this incident is not suitable for use in the counterintelligence program because the details regarding [REDACTED] injury were obtained through [REDACTED]. The exact circumstances of [REDACTED] injury have not been published and their revelation at this time would logically suggest [REDACTED].

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

PLT:MJD  
(3)



U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

15 JUN 17 1968

[REDACTED]

The Chicago Office agrees that the militancy of the New Left and false accusations of police brutality must be exposed wherever possible. Any instances of this nature which occur in the Chicago Division will be immediately brought to the Bureau's attention.

Immorality

Reports of a general nature concerning the immorality of some New Left adherents in the Chicago area have appeared in the public press and their abnormal attitudes toward sex are evident in "underground" newspapers circulated in Chicago. Copies of the "underground" newspapers are being furnished to the Bureau on a continuing basis in accordance with Bureau instructions.

The Chicago Office through its increasing informant coverage of New Left activities has not received extensive information concerning the immorality of New Left activists since the informants in the New Left Movement are reluctant to take part in social activities where such immorality would be in evidence. Informants of this office have not been directed to take part in such social activities since a situation could arise where the informant might be compromised, his trustworthiness impaired, or he might otherwise cause embarrassment to the Bureau. The Chicago Office will continue to be alert for information which informants of this office may receive concerning immorality of New Left activists. / /

A reliable source has reported that [REDACTED] and a key activist of the Chicago Office in 1967 was living in Chicago with [REDACTED]

MRS  
1 ROBERT [REDACTED] was married on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] according to records of the Passport Office, United States Department of State, has never been married. +1

[REDACTED] however, has now moved to San Francisco

and [REDACTED]  
counterintelligence action.

#### Action by College Administrators

Recent occurrences at Roosevelt University and Chicago University illustrate the importance of university administrators adopting a forceful policy toward militant student groups who attempt to disrupt university activities. Set forth below are the facts surrounding demonstrations at both schools and the results of the actions taken by university officials:

#### Roosevelt University

On [REDACTED] a student organization known as Students for Quality Education (SFQE) was established at Roosevelt University to initiate protest activity against [REDACTED] of Roosevelt University for his decision not to grant a full-time teaching position in the History Department to [REDACTED] had taught at Roosevelt University during the 1967-1968 school term on a part-time basis in the History Department [REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] about 25 SFQE members commenced picketing outside Roosevelt University carrying signs protesting the decision of [REDACTED] not to grant a full-time teaching position to [REDACTED].

From May 8 to May 14, 1968, groups of SFQE students numbering from 15 to 70 members conducted sit-in demonstrations in [REDACTED] office at Roosevelt University. When the students refused to vacate the premises at the close of each business day they were arrested and charged with trespassing. A total of 69 students were arrested in the course of the demonstrations. Roosevelt University expelled 16 students and suspended 53 others.

On May 14, 1968, the demonstrators made the following demands:

- 1) Amnesty for all students arrested, suspended, and expelled, including an assurance that none will lose their student aid.
- 2) An agreement to remove city policemen from the university building.
- 3) Medical services for all students and university employees.
- 4) Elimination of administration vetoes over faculty and student decisions.
- 5) Open hearings on discipline cases.
- 6) Monthly meetings between student spokesmen and the president and consultation on key issues involving students.
- 7) The establishment of a student-faculty committee to have a voice in university decisions including the appointment of a university trustee by student vote.
- 8) A full-time three-year appointment for [REDACTED]

It is noted that the students had originally demanded only that the university appoint [REDACTED]. However, after the students learned that the university was willing to bargain with them they greatly expanded the scope of their demands.

While [REDACTED] was attempting to resolve the dispute, the demonstrators were being openly supported by members of [REDACTED] own faculty, including [REDACTED] an [REDACTED] I I I

In [REDACTED] was listed as a member of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America. . .

In [REDACTED] spoke at an open meeting sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance held at Roosevelt University.

On [REDACTED] Roosevelt University continued discussions with the dissenting students. In exchange for an end to student demonstrations, [REDACTED] offered amnesty to students arrested and suspended and opened the door to greater student participation in university affairs, including faculty appointments. The proposed settlement would not have affected [REDACTED]

According to press reports, the students were close to accepting the pact offered by [REDACTED] until members of the Committee on Academic Freedom in Illinois (CAFI) addressed the students. The decision to reject the agreement hardened with speeches by [REDACTED] I I I

[REDACTED] Communist Party front group [REDACTED] I I I

[REDACTED] was critical of [REDACTED] intervention in the dispute and said: "For a group of outsiders to come in while this agreement was under discussion was equivalent to shouting 'fire' in a crowded theatre. The university will make no concessions under duress."

On May 20, and May 21, 1968, about 25 SFQE members resumed their picketing of [REDACTED] but left voluntarily at the end of the business day.

There have been no further demonstrations at Roosevelt University since May 21, apparently because students are now occupied with their studies for final examinations. Of the 69 students arrested for trespassing, 24 have appeared in court and the charges against them were dropped by the university.

A university spokesman said it appeared probable that the university would ask dismissal against most of the other 45 students when their cases are scheduled for trial. The spokesman said the university's disciplinary board would give "individual consideration" to the cases of the 53 students who have been suspended and the 16 who have been expelled effective June 8, the end of the school term. Those seeking a reversal of suspension or expulsion must apply for it, the spokesman said.

The problem facing Roosevelt University has not been solved and leaders of the demonstrators have indicated they may renew their agitation in the fall. Should the demonstrations reoccur, a threat of expulsion or suspension by the university would probably have little influence on the students in view of the university's action in rescinding its previous penalties.

#### University of Chicago

On May 16, 1968, approximately 65 students calling themselves SPLIBS - The Society for the Promotion of Lobbying in the Interest of Black Students - took over and closed the University of Chicago administration building located at 5801 South Ellis, Chicago. Employees in the building were sent home after the sit-in was begun.

SPLIBS demanded that more black students "perhaps 11 per cent of incoming classes" be admitted to the undergraduate school; that Negro students be offered special programs prior to entrance, and that special programs for them be conducted during the academic year. They also demanded that six black students should assist and advise on admissions.

These demands were made in spite of the fact that on April 29, 1968, the university announced a \$750,000 program to recruit more Negroes beginning next fall and to provide more scholarships and special programs to prepare them for university life. This plan included special classes for prospective students beginning as early as their sophomore year in high school.

After the demonstrators had occupied the administration building for some time, staff officers of the Dean of Students handed out two statements formally notifying them they were in violation of university rules. The statements told the demonstrators they would be suspended summarily if they were not out of the building by 5:00 p.m., and further that they would be expelled if they were not out by 6:00 p.m. The students were out of the building before 5:00 p.m.

#### Summary

The "Chicago Tribune" in its issue of May 17, 1968, carried an editorial entitled "Hold High the Flag of Maroon" which is an excellent analysis of the events which occurred at Roosevelt University and at the University of Chicago. The article read in part:

"The University of Chicago has no football team, but it has something better than that - an administration which won't put up with politically passionate puberty. When some 60 Negro students occupied the university administration building and posted a sign reading, 'Closed by Black Students' university officials lost no time in laying down the law.

[REDACTED]

squatters that the university would not tolerate disruptive conduct and that swift disciplinary action would attend a refusal to leave. The agitators were given 30 minutes to get out. They got out.....

SAC, Chicago

5/27/68

Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

1 - Mr. Tolson  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. Casper  
1 - Mr. Callahan  
1 - Mr. Conrad  
1 - Mr. Felt  
1 - Mr. Gale  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Tavel  
1 - Mr. Trotter  
1 - Tele. Room  
1 - Mr. Holmes  
1 - Miss Gandy

Review of files at Bureau Headquarters regarding [redacted] reveals she has allegedly contributed substantially to the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as well as to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and has reportedly participated in other activist groups, which information is in the possession of your office. Other references indicate [redacted]

in Chicago. It is noted the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) has confidentially advised a check is being made of tax returns of [redacted] in connection with their audit of SDS in an effort to determine whether contributions to SDS were possibly illegally claimed.

It would appear that [redacted] should be considered a logical target in captioned Counterintelligence Program with the ultimate goal being to cut off this source of funds to SDS. You should immediately open a case on [redacted] and conduct appropriate investigation to realize this goal. Additionally, if the facts warrant, consideration should be given to placing her on the Security Index.

Determine through IRS at Chicago, which organizations have received substantial contributions from the [redacted] and the amounts involved. If feasible, determine what businesses [redacted] and/or his firm represent and whether these organizations are producing products contrary to the objectives or beliefs of the organizations to which the [redacted] are contributing; i.e., defense contracts, et cetera. Attempt to detect any weaknesses which can be utilized to cause [redacted] to withdraw her financial support from the SDS.

No counterintelligence action should be undertaken without prior Bureau authority.

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

19 MAY 27 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RR:jms  
(8)

MAY 31 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

**Letter to Chicago**  
**Re: Counterintelligence Program**

**NOTE:**

**[REDACTED] has contributed substantially to activist groups in the past and, particularly, to the Students for a Democratic Society. She is a logical target for the Counterintelligence Program as any success at cutting off this source of income from Students for a Democratic Society would be a serious blow to their financial structure.**